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# USSR Report

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6 OCTOBER 1986

# USSR REPORT

## SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 1, Jan - Feb - Mar 1986

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27TH CPSU CONGRESS: THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOCIAL REORGANIZATION

SOVIET YOUTH CONTRIBUTION TO THE ACCELERATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

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[Article by Aleksandr Vasilyevich Zhuganov, candidate of philosophical sciences, Komsomol Central Committee secretary. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] One of the Komsomol traditions is persistently to implement Lenin's behest that science in our country is neither a "dead letter" nor a "dead phrase" but the foundation of "unparalleled progress of production forces" (1). The chronicles of the Komsomol are marked by the romantic and high civic-minded struggle waged by young enthusiasts for the elimination of illiteracy, and a mass movement for mastering technical knowledge and the heights of science. All of this enabled millions of adolescents to become conscious creators of the new social system and raised brilliant scientists, designers and talented socialist production organizers.

As they follow the traditions of the senior generations, the Komsomols of the 1980s have made a substantial contribution to the nationwide efforts to implement the 11th 5-Year Plan and the Energy and Food Programs and to develop the natural resources of Siberia, the Far East and Extreme North. The Soviet youth is actively participating in the nationwide struggle for honorably meeting the 27th CPSU Congress.

As we know, the party is advancing toward that congress armed with a strategic concept for the acceleration of socioeconomic development. The concept of acceleration is the pivot of the draft new addition of the CPSU program and the other precongress documents. Scientific and technical progress is the main lever of acceleration. In mobilizing the creative energy of the working people for the reconstruction of the national economy, the party is firmly relying on the young people and their energy, curious minds and interests in everything that is new and progressive. The main areas in which young people are called upon to realize their creative potential are clearly indicated in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving the Party's Leadership of the Komsomol and Upgrading its Role in the Communist Upbringing of the Youth" (2). This applies to social production intensification, comprehensive automation, development of electronics and nuclear energy, creation and utilization of new types of materials, equipment and technology and mastering economic management methods.

At the CPSU Central Committee meeting with veterans of the Stakhanov movement and production frontrankers and innovators, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized: "We must offer opportunities for the technical creativity of youth by all possible means. We must not only open them but create all the necessary conditions for the creative potential of the young to be channeled into the solution of problems related to the acceleration of society's socioeconomic development" (3, p 38). Accepting the party's instructions as a manual for action, the Komsomol committees are considering their participation in the integration of creative thinking with creative toil as a task of prime political, socioeconomic and educational importance.

Currently a number of republic, kray and oblast Komsomol organizations have formulated and are successfully implementing comprehensive programs for involving Komsomols and young people in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. These programs include a broad range of problems, starting with developing circles for technical creativity for secondary school students with the help of young specialists and ending with the organization of Komsomol sponsorship of the application of major scientific and technical developments. The all-union review of youth scientific and technical creativity sponsored by the Komsomol Central Committee, the GKNT, the All-Union NTO Council and the VOIR Central Council have become a good school for training active fighters for scientific and technical progress. More than 20 million people are participating in the review and young innovators account for one out of four inventions and rationalization suggestions.

Engaging in scientific and technical creativity not only yields substantial economic results but also carries a tremendous moral charge. It makes possible sensible relaxation, develops a feeling of involvement in the constructive activities of the people, contributes to identifying the talents of young people and develops in them feelings of innovators, organizational skills and the aspiration steadily to increase their knowledge and perfect their professional skills. This makes even more annoying still frequently encountered blunders in the organization of scientific and technical youth creativity. Many Komsomol committees allow formalism and idle talk. They sluggishly look for new and more efficient ways and means of resolving this problem. After achieving good results in terms of mass development and

economic efficiency, the movement of young innovators has experienced no qualitative changes in recent years. The further growth of creative activeness is held back by obstacles which arise in the practical application of developments. We cannot fail to be concerned by the fact that three-quarters of inventions and one-quarter of rationalization suggestions, which have been recommended for use, are still not being applied.

We have reached a level at which the question of developing a nationwide system of scientific and technical youth creativity has been put on the agenda. This implies coordinating the activities of state and social organizations, the clear demarcation of their functions and resolving problems of management, planning and financing. In our view, it would be suitable to include this system in the comprehensive work being done by the party to perfect the economic mechanism and to accelerate scientific and technical progress. It is only by directing the movement of young innovators into a socially useful channel, steadily adding to the "portfolio of orders" topical contemporary production assignments, supporting the efforts of millions of enthusiastic people and guaranteeing the application of developments that we can acquire the type of system of youth scientific and technical creativity which will enable the Komsomol to participate more tangibly in the development of the priority sectors of the national economy.

Today it is more important than ever to train the young person to think in a fresh and unconventional manner. However, this must be started in childhood, at school. In this sense technical creativity for children has confirmed its usefulness exceptionally well. Here is an example: 15 years ago senior secondary school students created the Viktorul scientific society in Moldavia. The society has about 50 branches in the republic's cities and villages. More than 8,000 students are learning how independently to resolve engineering problems and are systematically engaged in self-training and scientific research under the guidance of scientists, educators and NTO and VOIR members.

As a whole, however, unjustifiably little attention is being paid to developing the technical creativity of children and adolescents. No more than 13 percent of all school students are participating in this activity. A number of clubs of young technicians have been closed down in the Russian Federation in recent years, for a variety of reasons. The production of toys which develops an interest in contemporary technology is unsatisfactory in terms of volume and variety. Frequently, interesting the children in construction is considered an ordinary children's game. Could we consider normal a situation in which hundreds of school clubs are engaged exclusively in assembling airplane models, when adolescents have to look for construction materials in dump sites and when the prototypes of machines and mechanisms they have created may be found only in exhibits? The organization of technical creativity by children must be substantially improved in the course of the reform of general education and vocational schools.

While in school, the children must also master computers. This is an exceptionally responsible assignment and the Komsomol organizations have no right to ignore it. Their range of action could be quite broad, from real aid to school educators in teaching the new subject "Foundations of Informatics and Computer Equipment" to involving young scientists and specialists to



participate in the development of microcomputers which, already in the immediate future, will become the mandatory "work tool" of every student.

Naturally, the mastery of computer knowledge is a most important matter not only for school students but all detachments of Soviet youth. This is a most important state problem, without the solution of which the efficient utilization and the increase of the scientific and technical potential of the country, the drastic enhancement of labor productivity and standards, the automation of production and management processes and the solution of social problems is impossible. The Komsomol Central Committee has assigned to the Komsomol committees to develop a mass youth movement for mastering the foundations of computers and programming. Age levels and levels for basic and specialized training in the use of computers have been established for the individual categories of boys and girls. The construction of a branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Problems of Cybernetics has been proclaimed a Komsomol construction project; the decision was made to set up under the Komsomol Central Committee an intersectorial coordination commission which will sponsor the creation, application and efficient utilization of technical and programming computer facilities and will systematically sponsor young scientists' conferences and seminars on topical problems of the development and application of computers. An all-union course for youth computer literacy is offered by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

The Armenian Komsomol committees are setting the example of a thought-out approach to teaching the foundations of computers to young people. Their strategic task is that in the next 10 years every young person in the republic must learn how to work with computers. In the past 2 years 700 secondary school students, 1,500 VUZ, technical school and PTU students and 600 young scientists and specialists have taken optional programming and basic computer use courses. Courses for young programmers are offered by 43 organizations. Using young scientists and specialists, the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences is studying intensive methods for computer training and resolving problems of developing electronic games and children's computers. Interesting initiatives are found in many other places. Naturally, all of these are no more than the initial steps. The Komsomol committees and all young scientists and specialists have the duty of making all boys and girls aware of the role of computers in the further progress of our society in its socioeconomic reorganization and in shaping comprehensively developed individuals.

Raising the students as active fighters for scientific and technical progress is one of the most important social functions of the Soviet higher school. It is difficult to imagine a contemporary educational institution without student participation in various sports competitions, scientific societies and design bureaus, which have become active forms of developing the creative capabilities of the future specialists. Today most VUZs have formulated and are applying comprehensive plans for the organization of student scientific research for the entire training period. This enables them to combine scientific research with all types and forms of training and to ensure the extensive involvement of VUZ youth in extracurricular creative activities. Currently 2.6 million students or more than 85 percent of their total number in full time departments are engaged in scientific research. Every year state examination commissions and VUZs recommend some 40 percent of the diploma

projects prepared by the future specialists for practical utilization. The country's 506 higher educational institutions have student design, engineering and technological bureaus, the members of which are annually working on scientific research worth about 50 million rubles. The successes achieved by the student bureau at the Moscow Aviations Institute, the Leningrad Machine, Lvov Polytechnical and Dnepropetrovsk Engineering-Construction Institutes are widely known. For example, based on plans designed by students at the latter, eight hostels, several school buildings, a swimming pool and a club have been built in the city.

Student scientific production detachments, whose members convert "into metal" their own design and other developments, are persistently proving their right to life. Last summer, for example, there were nearly 1,200 such detachments throughout the country.

What concerns us, however, is the disparity between the high indicators of mass "student science" and its relatively low economic efficiency. This is related, above all, to a certain skepticism displayed by economic managers and personnel of organizations and establishments concerning the possibilities of the future specialists. As a result, student participation in scientific and technical creativity is manifested in strictly auxiliary procedures, lacking any creative content. The result is that some of the students turn out unprepared for scientific and technical creativity and their participation in such work is pro forma only. In our view, in addition to said disciplines, the VUZ curriculums must include the following subjects: efficient designing, structure technology, automated production control systems, ways and means of ensuring the height reliability of items and foundations of ecology. Life persistently demands that the training of future specialists in such disciplines be considered not an auxiliary but a main task. Interesting experience has been gained in this area by the UkSSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, which has introduced the subject of technical creativity in 48 of its subordinate institutes. Unfortunately, people in the other parts of the country are not in a hurry to introduce such new developments. In the Russian Federation, for example, only 17 educational institutions are offering the new course "Foundations of Informatics and Rationalization Work."

The relatively low level of return from "student science" is also explained by the significant gap between the portfolio of developments ready for application and those already applied. In this case the negative attitude of the financial bodies to the aspiration of student design bureaus to be granted the so-called seal right, which allows them to engage in application activities and implementation of projects creates an artificial obstacle. This question is awaiting its solution.

Today the Komsomol has more than 8 million specialists with higher and secondary specialized training, and young people under 30 account for nearly one-half of the entire scientific and technical intelligentsia. It would be difficult to overestimate its creative possibilities which are truly boundless. "It is precisely young people," Academician G.I. Marchuk believes, "who are the motive force in science. Scientists obtain their most outstanding results most frequently in their youth" (4).

Komsomol committees and councils of young scientists and specialists ascribe great importance to involving young people in the implementation of target comprehensive scientific and technical programs. Interesting experience has been acquired in Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, Sverdlovsk, Tyumen and Novosibirsk. For example, involving themselves with the implementation of the "Intensification-90" territorial-sectorial program, the Leningrad Komsomol organizations are contributing to the practical application of scientific and technical developments, inventions and rationalization suggestions on manual labor mechanization and automation. Kharkov Komsomol committees are actively working in the same direction. Here the "small construction mechanization is a Komsomol concern" movement has become widespread. Young engineers are sponsoring more than 30 topical subjects. Komsomol committees in Kiev are persistently working to involve adolescents in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Cooperation contracts concluded between Komsomol organizations of local scientific research institutes and schools, on the one hand, and industrial enterprises, on the other, play a major role in this project. During the 11th 5-Year Plan more than 300 such contracts were carried out within the framework of the "Kiev Youth For Progress in Science, Technology and Production" program, as a result of which 250 engineering solutions have been applied with total savings of 10 million rubles.

Young scientists and specialists are daringly undertaking major projects. Thus, the commission for assisting in the development of the nuclear power industry of the Komsomol Central Committee is coordinating the work of more than 160 Komsomol organizations on the implementation of the "Nuclear Reactors With Heat and Fast Neutrons" target program. Komsomol activists are also engaged in basic scientific research in this area and in the development of corresponding designs as well as tuning, start-up and operation of nuclear power plants and professional cadre training. The Komsomol is also sponsoring the development of lasers and of essentially new transportation systems benefiting the national economy. Youth projects include methods for upgrading the yields of oil fields and means of processing the coal at the Kansk-Achinsk deposits.

Despite many noteworthy accomplishments, a number of major shortcomings remain. Komsomol committees and councils of young scientists and specialists are poorly participating in the development and application of wasteless and low-waste technologies and in developing the comprehensive processing of raw materials and the utilization of useful substances from industrial waste. As before, urgent problems include the application of progressive methods for continuous steel smelting, the development of a full water recycling process in the cellulose and paper industry, the use of secondary power resources, and the secondary extraction of useful components from nonferrous metallurgy dumps and production waste.

Or else let us consider domestic video equipment. We do not have to prove its exceptional advantages in organizing youth training and recreation. However, we have not been overly successful in the production of high quality video tape recorders, cassettes and training video programs. This project has been hindered by departmental lack of coordination and the established custom of considering video equipment as production of secondary importance. Nor have the young developers of video equipment had their say in this matter.

What should we do to surmount this relative narrowness of research and utilize more efficiently the creative potential of the young scientific and technical intelligentsia? Today this problem is in the center of attention of the Komsomol organizations. The party has given us the way to resolve it. "Our socialist cause can only benefit," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "if the party committees and economic bodies, together with the Komsomol, find the ways and means for the fuller utilization of the energy, talent, interest in anything new, and healthy ambition of young workers-innovators, engineers and scientists, and decisively surmount routine and conservatism" (3, p 38). Noteworthy in this connection is the experience of complex creative youth collectives (KTMK) which are created, as a rule, at decisive sectors in production reconstruction and retooling. The high efficiency of such collectives has long been beyond question. Here the time interval between the appearance of an idea and its application is shorter by nearly one-third than under usual conditions.

We have frequently witnessed the way in which the KTMK help young people gain confidence in their forces, show what they can do and detect research or organizational talent. Particularly noteworthy in this sense is the experience of the KTMK of a group of young scientific associates of several scientific research institutes. This youth collective has engaged in a captivatingly interesting project: the development of new generation robots based on microprocessor computer-controlled systems. High technical and economic features have made the extensive use of this instrument possible in various industrial sectors and design simplicity has made it possible to organize its series production within a short time.

In terms of their parameters, the robots are superior to all domestic and many foreign models. They are entirely consistent with contemporary requirements governing the building of adaptable production systems.

Today we hear a great deal of concern expressed on the reduced prestige of engineering work and the decline of competition among candidates for enrollment in technical VUZs. With increasing frequency young engineers try to avoid assignments to primary production sectors. They slowly adapt themselves to shop work and fail to display proper design aptitudes. The responsibility of economic bodies and Komsomol committees for the utilization of VUZ and technical school graduates and their professional development has clearly declined. The inadmissible waste of social intellectual and material resources leads to the fact that engineers are employed in sectors having nothing to do with their VUZ training. In one of the country's oblast 900 specialists with higher training are working in trade and public catering as waiters, sales clerks, barmen or procurement workers. On a national average, every year more than 10 percent of VUZ graduates do not show up at their assigned jobs and more than 5 percent leave after less than 1 year of work.

Upgrading the prestige of engineering work and solving the vital problems of its organization and wages are matters of exceptional importance. The Komsomol organizations welcomed with great approval the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree on improving wages of scientific workers, designers and technologists. It is directly aimed at increasing the material and moral incentive of young scientists and

specialists in developing the most efficient equipment which would accelerate scientific and technical progress. As we know, the decree took into consideration the positive experience acquired in this area by enterprises in Leningrad, Moscow and Ulyanovsk. The Izhorskiy Zavod Association was one of the enterprises in which the new system of labor organization and wages of scientific and technical workers was applied experimentally. Although the number of associates here was reduced by almost 10 percent, the volume of design and technological work increased by 27 percent and work quality improved. The participants themselves highly rated the results of the experiment. Sociological studies covering more than one-half of the total personnel indicated that the new principles of labor organization and wages are positively rated by virtually all respondents. In their view, however, the mechanism for the distribution of wage supplements could be improved further.

We cannot fail to be concerned also by the circumstance that in recent years the attractiveness and prestige of scientific work has declined among young people. The efficiency of postgraduate studies remains low. The choice of degree candidates is frequently based on random and subjective characteristics, without suitable consideration of previous training, ability and sociopolitical activeness. No more than 15 to 20 percent of graduate students defend their dissertation within the stipulated time. In a number of cases, after the young scientists have earned a degree or a title, they stop growing as creative workers. Nevertheless, they continue to earn regularly high wages for past accomplishments rather than present results.

The full manifestation of the creative potential of the young scientific and technical intelligentsia is frequently held back for other reasons. Sociological studies conducted among young scientists and specialists within the USSR Academy of Sciences indicate that about two-thirds of them are dissatisfied with working conditions, availability of instruments and equipment, the work of scientific and technical information services, wages and possibilities of professional and career promotions. Sometimes the creative thrust of young inventors is dampened by the obstructions encountered by an author who tries to put his creation to practical use. A great deal of valuable time is wasted as a result of red tape in processing technical documentation! A great deal of effort is lost on endless initialing of totally unnecessary coordination agreements. All of this must be firmly rejected.

The scale of the tasks set by the party to the Komsomol raise qualitatively new demands concerning the work style of Komsomol committees and young scientist councils. We must work hard to eliminate excessive organization, campaign-style work, boredom and improper behavior and encourage more efficiently youth activeness in the course of the further growth and efficient utilization of the country's scientific and technical potential.

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4. Marchuk, G.I. "Molodim o Nauke" [Young People on Science]. Mol. Gvardiya, Moscow, 1980, p 4.

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COLLECTIVE LABOR FORMS UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE ECONOMIC EXPERIMENT

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[Text] The brigade method of labor organization and incentive meets the crucial requirements of our economy and is called upon substantially to upgrade its efficiency. Such is the way in which this question is formulated in the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decrees passed in recent years (1) and the party's programmatic documents. In 1984 71.7 percent of all industrial workers were members of brigades (9). The situation can be considered quite satisfactory from the quantitative aspect, the more so since a stable trend of increasing the number of brigades has developed. From the qualitative viewpoint, however, matters have not progressed all that far. The activities of a number of collectives violate even basic requirements of the brigade method. The system of wages based on end results is applied in no more than 65.6 percent of brigades. The

consistent use of the method presumes the conversion of brigades to cost accounting. Yet cost accounting is practiced by no more than 28.6 percent of collectives (ibid).

The main reasons which are holding back today the dissemination of the brigade method are generally clear. They go beyond the individual brigade level. "In order to achieve the real comprehensive dissemination of the experience of progressive collectives," Academician N.P. Fedorenko emphasizes, "we must seriously reorganize planning, including intraplant planning, accounting and supplies; we must substantially enhance the overall level of production organization" (3). "The brigade form of labor organization," Academician A.G. Aganbegyan points out, "in itself, without a proper restructuring of the economic mechanism.... will fail to yield expected results" (4). The results of sociological studies support the views of these reputable economists (5).

Today ways of perfecting planning and improving labor organization and incentive are being tested through a wide-scale economic experiment. How is the brigade method effected by the new conditions? What makes an answer to this question all the more important is the fact that the experiment is spreading to ever new sectors and enterprises and is essentially becoming an ordinary industrial economic management method.

Under the conditions of the experiment the growth of the wage fund (FZP) is made dependent on increased volumes of output. The normative method eliminates "fitting" the FZP to the actual number of people working at a given enterprise and, consequently, is aimed at identifying available reserves. This method creates prerequisites for the systematic application of the brigade labor form. Previously, while the FZP was restricted by plan, the administration could provide favorable organizational-technical and economic conditions for a limited number of brigades only; in other collectives the new form was frequently applied pro forma. Under the conditions of the experiment, the material incentive of enterprises in observing contractual discipline, reducing outlays per ruble commodity output and meeting a number of other indicators is enhanced! This too should contribute to the development of brigade cost accounting. Furthermore, it is only the creation of strong cost accounting brigades that would make it possible to apply the principles of the experiment to the individual worker.

Therefore, on the level of basic stipulations, the brigade method and the economic experiment complement each other. Furthermore, there are reasons to believe that their further interconnection will become a powerful factor in upgrading production efficiency. However, we must bear in mind that a gap of varying dimensions may develop between the principles of organizational and economic new developments and their practical implementation. Unfortunately, the efficiency of one innovation or another is frequently judged by the extent to which its principles have been implemented. For example, the brigade method is given a negative assessment only because the unification of the workers within brigades is frequently pro forma.

How are the principles of the experiment and the collective (brigade) form of labor organization and wages combined in practical terms, and what influence has their interaction had on production efficiency? To find the answers to



these questions, let us turn to the results of a sociological study conducted by the AUCCTU Scientific Center in 20 enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building and the LiSSR Ministry of Local Industry. The survey encompassed the European part of the country (the Baltic area, the Ukraine, the Urals, the RSFSR Center), Central Asia, (Uzbekistan, Kirghiziya) and the Kazakh SSR. The study was conducted in April-June 1985, i.e., after the collectives had worked under the conditions of the experiment for 18 months. Data on enterprise activities in the last year of the experiment were studied. A total of 4,257 people were surveyed, as follows: 2,814 workers, 1,127 engineering and technical workers and employees, and 316 managers.

The study indicated that the enterprises achieved their best results in contract deliveries. The value of this indicator averaged a 2.4 percent increase. Whereas prior to the experiment only five of the 20 enterprises fulfilled their contractual obligations in full, 1 year later their number rose to nine. Other positive changes include increased production volumes without increasing the number of workers. Labor productivity (standard-net output per worker) increased by the following amounts at the enterprises under the following ministries: Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, 6 percent; Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, 3 percent; and Ministry of Local Industry, 5 percent. In 1 year average wages increased by 2.3 percent or by 3.9 percent if we add payments from the material incentive fund, averaging 201.8 rubles by the end of 1984. The increased average wage by ministry was, respectively, 4, 3 and 5 percent. In other words, the correlation between the growth of labor productivity and wages was essentially maintained. The sociocultural and housing construction funds increased, respectively, by 11.7, 6.2 and 22.5 percent.

Table 1. Results of Activities of Industrial Enterprise Collectives Participating in the Economic Experiment, Percent

Production Situation Elements	Answer Variants										
	Increased, Improved			Remained on Pre- vious Level			Reduced, Worsened			Unable to Answer *	
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II
Labor Productivity	45.4	47.8	72.6	41.2	40.6	23.9	3.6	1.2	3.5	9.8	10.4
Production Quality	31.5	34.0	40.7	56.9	55.7	57.3	4.0	1.6	2.0	7.6	8.7
Labor Organization	23.5	33.7	51.1	53.5	53.8	45.4	13.7	3.0	3.4	9.3	9.5
Reciprocal exigency	48.6	45.5	62.3	42.3	44.7	36.6	2.3	1.0	1.1	6.8	8.8
Labor discipline	51.3	53.6	49.0	39.9	40.6	46.2	2.8	0.9	4.8	6.0	4.9

I: Workers; II: Engineering and technical personnel and employees;  
III: Managers

\* not applicable to managers

How to assess these data? Positive changes are obvious. However, it is clearly too soon to speak of any qualitative leap. Even the highest increase in labor productivity at the enterprises of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry cannot be considered entirely satisfactory. Outlays per

ruble commodity output are declining extremely slowly and capital returns are continuing to drop.

The subjective assessment of enterprise activities by workers and employees also confirm the fact that it would be premature to speak of drastic improvements in the labor atmosphere. By no means are all members of the collective, the rank and file working people in particular, positively assessing changes in labor productivity and production quality (see Table 1). However, reciprocal exigency among workers has increased and labor discipline has strengthened. We believe this to be due not only to economic measures, as stipulated by the experiment, but also to and overall increase in the feeling of responsibility on the part of the Soviet people over the past 2-3 years. We should be concerned by the slow progress in the organization of labor. Improvements in this area were noted by no more than 25 percent of workers, one-third of the ITR personnel and employees and less than one-half of all managers. This means that as far as the other workers are concerned, although having increased their interest in efficient work, they do not consider that it has created additional organizational and technical opportunities for its improvement.

Let us consider the changes which have taken place in the collective forms of labor organization. According to statistical data, between January 1984 and January 1985 the number of workers applying the new method increased by 10.6 percent, reaching 67.7 percent, i.e., it was consistent with the national average. However, the brigade principles were not fully applied in all collectives. This is confirmed by answers to the question included in the form and extent of links between individual work and brigade activities as a whole. Only 48 percent of the personnel who adopted the new method agreed with the view that "our collective works on the basis of a single order, is paid on the basis of end results and distributes earnings according to the labor participation coefficient;" 31.6 percent of those surveyed believe that "our brigade works on the basis of a single order and earnings are distributed in accordance with the person's grade and time worked." "Officially we work within a brigade but actually we perform separate jobs and it is on this basis that we earn our wages" was the opinion of 19.3 percent.

Therefore, the number of workers working in collectives in which the new principles are applied in full is significantly smaller compared to accountability data. Also noteworthy is the fact that nearly 20 percent of the respondents directly pointed out the formal nature of the brigade method. Three types of collectives become clearly apparent: a. New type of brigades (working on the basis of a single order, earning on the basis of end results, wages distributed according to KTU); b. "Transitional" (earnings distributed in accordance with grade and actual time worked; c. "Formal." Unfortunately, this situation confirms the view that "despite steps taken to perfect the brigade form of labor organization, it has essentially retained its former position in economic management. We frequently come across the same old elements of the brigade organization of labor which were applicable 20 to 40 years ago" (2, p 85).

The various aspects of labor organization are characterized differently in the brigades we singled out. To begin with, let us note that no more than one-

half of those surveyed (52.1 percent) were satisfied with brigade work; 28.0 percent believe that working on an individual basis is better; 19.9 percent failed clearly to define their attitude toward the method under consideration. Nevertheless the members of the new type brigade emphasize that wages are now distributed more objectively and equitably, that they are better informed about indicators on the basis of which the brigade is paid and awarded bonuses, and are more accurately aware of their monthly planned assignment. In this case the percentage of people dissatisfied with the new method is half that of "formal" brigades.

Although it may appear that everything is as it should be and that it will result in the full blossoming of this method under the conditions of the experiment, we must not forget that the percentage of new type brigades remains small and their successes, relative. They look significant only when compared with the indicators of "transitional" and "formal" brigades. Furthermore, the study of the results of the survey indicates that some shortcomings common to all brigades we mentioned remain, hindering improvements in labor efficiency. For example, no more than 10 percent of the workers believe that in the course of the experiment all necessary conditions for highly productive work have been provided. The approximately same number of workers (10.4 percent) pointed out that the latter have not only not improved but, in some respects, have become even worse. The main hindrance, as in the past, are poor working conditions (worn out equipment, small premises, dust, noise, etc.) and the low level of production organization (idling, rushing, overtime, etc.). Almost one-third of the workers noted such shortcomings. The rank-and-file workers rate equally low the system of material incentive: only 31.4 percent expressed the view that it leads to higher labor productivity; 53.8 percent of the workers pointed out that had the organization of the work been better and had increased labor outlays been paralleled by a respective increase in wages, they could have increased their individual productivity by 5-10 percent. Under the same circumstances, 25.4 percent of the respondents could increase their labor productivity by 11-20 percent; one out of 8, by 21-40 percent. These "statements" should be considered minimal.

The extensive development of the collective forms of labor under the conditions of the experiment are hindered by the poor utilization of cost accounting principles. At the present time one can speak only of individual cost accounting elements and by no means in all brigades at that. Most frequently indicators of labor saving are used, for this leads to considerable savings in wages from performing the same amount of work with fewer people. The great dependence of overall brigade earnings and bonuses on wage fund savings was indicated by 42.9 percent of the respondents. Actually, nearly one-sixth of the respondents believe that no such dependence exist, whereas 20 percent were unable to provide a simple answer to this question. Lesser interest is shown in material savings (raw materials, materials, electric power, natural gas, etc.), for only 29.4 percent of the respondents indicated the existence of a close link between wages and reaching the respective indicators. Is the influence of the experiment on the development on the brigade method substantial? Shortcomings in production, organizational and technical conditions, and errors in labor incentives led to the negative assessments given by the respondents (see Table 2).

Table 2. Correspondents Rating of the Effect of the Economic Experiment of the Development of the Brigade Method, %

Answer	Workers	ITR and Employees	Managers
Helps substantially	27.3	34.0	41.9
Helps insignificantly	29.2	31.4	33.1
Has no effect	12.3	7.2	6.8
Cannot answer	31.2	27.4	18.2

The question is: What makes managers and ITR slow to answer? Why are they (as are employees) quite restrained in assessing the influence of the experiment on the brigade? One of the main reasons is the poor dependence of earnings on the results of brigade work. Let us note parenthetically that, in general, ITR and employees gave a rather low rating to the material incentive system. Only 7.8 percent of them believed that their wages are entirely consistent with their labor contribution. It is extremely important to establish a direct link between salaries of administrative workers, ITR and employees, on the one hand, and of brigades, on the other (6). This may even be the main factor in the further development and intensification of the brigade method. However, in order for the significance of said factor to be fully revealed favorable organizational and economic conditions must be provided.

A certain instability of standards and indicators of enterprise activities, planning "on the basis of accomplishments," reassigning workers to agricultural and other projects, interruptions in supplies of raw materials, materials and complementing items and other shortcomings, which became apparent under the experimental conditions of management, have a negative influence on the internal life of the collective and hinder the conversion of all shops and production sectors to the brigade method. The most common reasons listed by the respondents were interruptions in supplies of raw materials, materials, complementing items, etc. This was pointed out by 70 percent of managers, one-half of ITR and employees and approximately the same percentage of workers. Paradoxically, the application of a progressive form of labor organization is hindered by its currently poor organization. The study of the results of this survey and "live practical experience" indicates that at many enterprises the extensive dissemination of the new method is delayed less by sluggishness, professional lack of training by management and lack of understanding of the economic efficiency of the brigade method than the fact that the administration is unable to ensure the necessary organizational and economic conditions for full-value activities of all brigades. The difficulties increase in the case of cost accounting brigades and their comprehensive organization (within a shop or enterprise). In the final account, surmounting such difficulties is related to expanding the autonomy of enterprises in the solution of economic problems. For the time being, less than one-third of all managers (31.3 percent) believe that possibilities for displaying independent thinking, initiative and responsibility have improved.

Expanding the economic autonomy of enterprises is not a self-seeking purpose. Its meaning is to improve intraplant life. One of the most important factors

in upgrading the efficiency of collective forms of labor is improving the fund-setting system. Some enterprises and associations are trying to "drop" the standards governing the wage fund down to the shop and brigade level in order to interest the latter in adopting more intensive production plans. However, for the time being it remains premature to speak of the existence of a mechanism which would ensure a close correlation between the activities of the enterprise as a whole and the work of its individual subunits and brigades. Less than 10 percent of managers believe that such connection has been fully established at their enterprise, where as 27.2 percent modestly pointed out that "the conditions of the experiment provide an opportunity for the establishment of such a mechanism." It is indeed true that after 18 months such a mechanism has still not been organized.

Let us consider yet another problem of essential significance in terms of the integration of the experiment with the brigade method: the wage system. According to the experiment, the enterprise administration has the right to approve supplements and raise wages for professional skill and work at crucial production sectors. The study indicates that such steps are a major work incentive. More than one-half of the workers (54.2 percent) and 41.3 percent of ITR and employees pointed out that the desire for a wage supplement makes them work better (let us point out that such supplements are small: the 30 percent of ITR and employees entitled to them average 17.7 rubles per month; 25 percent of the workers entitled to them average 19.2 rubles). We believe that the efficiency of this step could be enhanced. Currently supplements and increases are determined by the administration. Most workers (56.4 percent) suggest that such supplements be paid to the brigade wage fund and distributed on the basis of the KTU.

However, there is more to it. Under certain circumstances, the method of distribution changes the content of the wage system. If the wage fund of the collective is computed on the basis of the end product (we deliberately set aside the exceptionally important and complex problem of what could be considered as end production--a part, an assembly, a machine unit, a brigade-set or product which has reached the consumer and has been positively rated by the latter) whereas the entire amount of earnings or most of it is distributed on the basis of the KTU, the grade system would be essentially eliminated and wages based on the labor share, percentage, etc. (no fixed term exists as yet) will become the basic principle. It is still early totally to abandon state regulation and control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption. The center of gravity in the wage mechanism, however, should be transferred directly to the labor collective. Only in such a case can we eliminate the main shortcoming of the current system: the "interest of the workers in having a low starting base for norms and standards and lack of interest in carrying out organizational and technical measures which could result in their revision (7). The reason for this phenomenon is well known: since the labor wage directly depends on fulfilling the norm, the lower the latter the easier it becomes to earn the wage" (7).

So far, the predominant view among the workers is that it is unprofitably significantly to exceed output norms, for any overfulfillment automatically leads to a drop in wage rates (even if no organization and technical improvements have been made). This was frankly stated by 36.3 percent of the

respondents; 29.1 percent believed that "such a view has some grounds, for lowering wage rates is not always backed by corresponding organizational and technical measures." No more than 15 percent of the respondents agreed with the view, whereas the others gave not clear answers. Therefore, the data proved that in the course of the experiment the main shortcoming of the individual piece rate is reproduced under the conditions of the brigade organization of labor as well. Let us emphasize that in a collective (brigade) piece-rate system, the principle of wages based on the "attained level" has even worse features, both economic and social. It is one thing for an individual worker to obstruct somewhat the growth of labor productivity and another when a brigade, obeying an unspoken principle, "works listlessly." Such a situation is entirely possible and, incidentally, has already appeared (for details see (8)). The point is this: since the standard method for setting of the incentive fund has not been applied on the brigade level, managers of primary units (brigade, sector) are willy-nilly forced to apply the "deduction" principle. "An unspoken compromise is reached between the administration and the workers: the formers "deduce" the wage and are not excessively strict as far as discipline, quality and conservation of materials are concerned, whereas the latter raise no questions concerning the low level of organization" (3).

Considerable possibilities of upgrading the efficiency of the new method are found in perfecting brigade self-management. Here brigade councils and councils of brigade leaders play an important role. What was the situation at the surveyed enterprises? No more than 40 percent of the workers noted that active work is being done by the councils in the brigades; 27.6 percent of the respondents pointed out the poor work of shop councils and only 15.3 percent believed that no single important problem of labor organization and wages can be solved without the participation of councils of shop brigade leaders. The energetic efforts of the brigade leaders councils are being obstructed, in our view, above all by the vagueness of their rights and obligations and the absence of a clear mechanism through which they can exercise their rights. The effectiveness of resolving production problems is lowered by the lack of firm standards which would organically link the work of individual brigades with those of higher level production subunits (shop, enterprise, association).

The development of brigade self-management is directly related to the implementation of the USSR Law on Labor Collectives. Our study indicated that the activeness of the workers in exercising their legal rights remains low. Thus, less than one-third (31.2 percent) of respondents participated in staffing brigades (the corresponding questions were answered by 2,256 of the 2,814 surveyed workers); 20.6 percent participate in work planning and organization; 29.0 percent in solving wages and labor incentives problems; 13.3 percent in skill upgrading problems; 24.8 percent dealt with educational work in the collective; 16.4 percent discussed candidacies in appointing brigade leaders; 36.8 percent noted that they did not deal with any one of these problems. The participation of workers, ITR and employees in solving problems of activities of shop and enterprise collectives was even more modest: the corresponding questions were answered by 2,486 workers and 1,102 ITR and employees of a total of 2,814 workers and 1,127 ITR and employees (the respondents rated their activities for the year preceding the survey).

What can be said about such data? The results cannot be accurately assessed without additional information on the production situation and the real state of affairs in social management. For example, 20.6 percent of those surveyed take part in brigade planning and work organization. Is the figure high or low? In this case we must be familiar with the gravity of the problem; we must know whether such a participation is competent, the extent to which the workers are interested in it, etc. Nevertheless, some preliminary conclusions are possible. In our view, the experiment presumes a greater activeness of the working people, compared with the results of the study, in the following matters: use of incentive funds, formulation and discussion of long-range and current plans for economic and social development and solving cadre problems. A real increase in independence, initiative and responsibility of collectives (including brigades) and energizing the human factor are possible only when the workers are interested in this.

In summing up the results of the study as a whole, let us recall the words of Academician A.G. Aganbegyan, who said in 1984 that "the economic experiment in expanding the economic autonomy of enterprises and developing collective forms of labor organization and wages are following parallel courses rather than being organically interrelated" (4). The situation has not substantially changed since then. The new type brigades, working on the basis of a single order and paid on the basis of end results and wages based on the KTU are so far in the minority. Cost accounting is being applied poorly and in frequent cases inconsistently. Essentially, the overwhelming number of brigades work on the basis of the principles of collective piece-rate work with all consequent negative results. The standard method for setting up incentive funds is rarely brought down to the shop level, not to mention that of the brigade. Consequently, the orientation of such groups toward end results (and, respectively, wages) is not organically linked with results of overall shop and enterprise activities. In any case, such correlation is frequently considered arbitrary by the workers. The development of cost accounting relations in the primary collectives is being hindered by their absence and the higher levels of the production structure.

The results of the study described here shed light on the current situation. We hope that they will be used in the formulation of managerial decisions in defining the strategy and tactics of the further application of the brigade method and of collective labor organization and wage forms.

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## STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMIC AUTONOMY OF PRODUCTION BRIGADES

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[Article by the following members of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research: Dr of Philosophical Sciences Nikolay Illarionovich Alekseyev, head of the sector of sociological problems in socioeconomic experimentation, and author of the monograph "Dialektika Truda pri Sotsializme" [Labor Dialectics Under Socialism] (1979); author of the article "Interconnection Between Social Factors Determining the Attitude Toward Labor" published in our journal (No 3, 1975); Anatoliy Vasilyevich Goryushin and Sergey Ivanovich Motkov our junior scientific associates. This is their first article in the journal. This article is based on a scientific report accepted by the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI]

[Text] The brigade form of labor organization and wages is one of the most important means of upgrading the efficiency of enterprise work and extensively involving working people in production management (1). Collective forms of labor organization, which express most fully and accurately the social nature of the socialist ownership of means of production, shape the truly proprietary attitude of the person toward public property.

The establishment of large comprehensive brigades consisting of workers with different skills in basic and auxiliary production (including shop ITR) enable us to identify social possibilities of upgrading labor productivity, such as combining skills, collective participation by brigade members in production management, and performing work "based on skill rather than volume."

Organizational foundations of the new labor methods. In the past several years a number of most important party documents have been issued on the further development of collective forms of labor organization and incentive. As a result of the practical implementation of party assignments, by the beginning of 1985 more than 60 percent of the workers were organized in brigades and 20 percent worked on a cost accounting basis. One-third of the brigades applied the labor participation coefficient (KTU). However, the fast transfer of most workers to brigades did not yield any noticeable increase in labor productivity on a national scale, which was (in terms of the previous year) the following: 1980, 2.6 percent; 1981, 2.7 percent; 1982, 2.1 percent. The same trend has been retained to this day.

According to our study, which was conducted in 1984 at 16 enterprises of five ministries participating in the economic experiment, between 40 and 60 percent of all workers are engaged in collective labor.<sup>1</sup>

Most widespread at the surveyed enterprises of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building and Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry are brigades consists of six-ten members, accounting for between 30 and 40 percent of the workers; some 25 percent of the workers are in brigades of 11 to 15 members; almost 20 percent work in three to five-member brigades.

It has turned out that such brigades are the least efficient. As a rule, they apply neither cost accounting, nor contract or single contract orders. Usually, they service no more than a small part of the technological process, for which reason here combination of skills and interchangeability have been reduced to a minimum. It is obvious that the conversion of such brigades to new collective labor forms is senseless. It would be better to set up large comprehensive associations engaged in a single technological process and including workers with all the necessary skills.

According to a survey we conducted among workers, brigade leaders and ITR in 1983 at five Chuvash enterprises, no more than 31.2 percent of brigade leaders noted that their brigades had a firm work plan for the current month and only 13.6 percent for the year. No more than 7.4 percent of brigades have the necessary amount of raw materials, materials and semi-finished goods to start with and only 19.4 percent have permanently assigned equipment and tools.<sup>2</sup> Shortcomings in the organization of labor are numerous. Thus, 47.7 percent of the surveyed brigade leaders noted that the work actually done is not being paid in full and that the overall earnings are being reduced without reason.

The conditions under which the collective forms of wage organization and labor operate naturally have a strong influence on the attitude of the workers toward these methods. Whereas 37.4 percent of the respondents are confident that the new labor method will radically reorganize the production process, 62.2 percent express a general doubt of the need for its application or find it difficult to voice an opinion. Accountability of labor and raw and other materials is poorly organized in many brigades. Proper standards and consolidated rates for finished goods have not been formulated. There have been cases of administrative violations of contractual obligations relative to planning, procurements, payments and deadlines for the application of cost accounting.

Economic foundations of collective forms of labor organization and wages. The main factor here is the principle of payments based on labor. However, it is not always observed. This eliminates all the positive aspects of the brigade method. Our study at enterprises of five ministries showed that from 46 percent (USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building) to 68 percent (BeSSR Ministry of Light Industry) of workers and brigade leaders who were surveyed noted that their brigade works on the basis of a single order and receives wages in accordance with worker grades and time worked. A substantial group of brigades operate on a formal basis only. Their personnel are engaged, as in the past, in performing separate jobs and their wages are set individually (22 percent of brigades of the USSR Ministry of Heavy and

Transport Machine Building, 18 percent of the UkSSR Ministry of Food Industry; 16 percent of enterprises of the BeSSR Ministry of Light Industry; and 5 percent under the USSR Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry). The enterprises of all these ministries have many unused possibilities of improving collective labor methods.

One such possibility is the application of brigade cost accounting (2). Essentially, this means the accurate and regular comparison between production results and outlays and material incentive for units reaching the best possible indicators with the lowest possible outlays. The most effective is the system based on end results and labor and material conservation as a whole, rather than on individual element. How do workers rate the advantages of this method? According to the survey, the most widespread among them was their view on labor savings (see Table). Between 23 and 47 percent of the respondents noted the connection between their earnings and raw and other material conservation, and between 10 and 40 percent, between earnings and conservation of electric power and fuel (the strong fluctuation of data was based on the sector). This leads to the conclusion that for the time being conservation of material resources is still not ascribed proper importance. It does not even apply to means of production used by the brigade. Materials frequently account for the overwhelming percentage of production outlays, reaching as high as 70-90 percent. This circumstance largely predetermines the attitude of the workers toward equipment and tools. This attitude can be surmounted if the wage mechanism were to include the principles of collective material interest in the results of the entire labor process rather than its individual aspects.

Workers' Opinion On Connection Between Overall Brigade Earnings  
and Labor and Material Conservation, Percent

Brigade Total Earnings Dependent on Conservation of	Average Data on Worker Answers by Sector				
	A	B	C	D	E
Raw and other materials	23.6	19.3	31.4	46.6	30.7
Outlays for equipment, tool and machine repairs	12.9	17.1	12.0	38.0	9.3
Electric power, fuel, lubricants	18.4	16.4	16.2	38.7	8.8
Brigade wage fund	32.5	43.0	33.3	54.1	65.0

Legend: A. USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building; B. USSR Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry; C. BeSSR Ministry of Light Industry; D. UkSSR Ministry of Food Industry; E. LiSSR Ministry of Local Industry

Currently many brigades are applying the labor participation coefficient. Frequently, however (between 10 and 54 percent of the brigades surveyed), it is only the piece-rate earnings or bonuses that are distributed on the basis of this principle. The basic wage-rate part of brigade earnings continue to be distributed on the basis of the piece-rate or hourly system, as a result of which most of the worker's wage is unrelated to the actual results of his work. In order to prevent the merely pro forma use of cost accounting in brigades, it should be applied on the shop level as well, at which point the wages of ITR and shop managers will be related to end work results and, consequently, to the work of all the brigades in their shop.

The reorganization of the wage system under conditions of collective labor methods should take increasingly into consideration the real contribution of individual brigade members and individual workers to end labor results. One of the variants of this system is the gradual conversion of the KTU into an individual share of overall brigade (shop) earnings. The determination of this share will be based above all not on the formal wage rate or salary but the complexity of the work, the output and quality of output (or job), professional skill, combination of skills, observance of labor and technological discipline and many other important indicators. This share must be determined by brigade councils and shop brigade leaders with the participation of economists and members of the administration.

Increasing the economic autonomy of brigades (conversion to total cost accounting, consolidation and creation of comprehensive combined brigades) will create real opportunities for the gradual conversion to primarily economic methods in controlling production relations within individual enterprises. From our viewpoint, the following steps could contribute to perfecting collective labor organization forms: introducing all total cost accounting elements in large comprehensive brigades (taking into consideration all types of material resources used by the brigade, equipment amortization, labor and the production cost of finished goods); determining brigade earnings as the differential between the estimated price of finished goods and all production outlays; systematic extension of cost accounting to the entire shop; distribution not only of bonuses or piece-rate earnings but also the wage-rate of salaries, based on the actual contribution of the worker to the end results of brigade work, with the help of the KTU; determining with the help of the KTU (or on the basis of specific shares) the wages of ITR and shop managers in terms of the general wage fund and on the basis of their personal contribution to end work results.

Brigade self-management bodies. M.S. Gorbachev properly described the place and role of enterprise brigades: "The brigade is the primary cell of the labor collective. It is precisely here that the foundations for successful production and social activities are laid. This is the key to providing a powerful impetus to our democracy, for the most important problems of production, incentive and education can be resolved by the collectives themselves. It is here that expanding the participation of working people in the administration of social affairs and the principles of self-management take shape."

The relative autonomy of brigades in resolving a broad range of problems, and involving its members in the production management process, including supervision over the measure of labor and consumption of the individual worker, collective material interest in the efficient utilization of present and materialized labor and material resources are prerequisites for developing an active, a truly proprietary attitude on the part of every production worker toward the results not only of brigade labor but of the work of the shop and enterprise as a whole.

Brigade-leader councils, which are worker self-management bodies, play a major role in this process. As indicated by the survey, such councils have been set up by the overwhelming majority of brigades. In most of them experienced

workers, shift foremen or engineers-technologists are appointed brigade leaders. Thus, 85 brigades at the Elektrostal'yazhmash Plant (Moscow Oblast) are headed by engineers, whose wages depend on the end results of brigade activities. However, by no means do the new self-management bodies enjoy the necessary authority everywhere. According to the study, only 47 percent of the respondents in the five Chuvash enterprises rated the work of their brigade councils highly; 31 percent noted that the council is virtually inactive, while 10 percent were totally ignorant of its activities; 6 percent had not even heard of its existence. Sociological surveys have also established the lack of support of such bodies by administrations or disregard of brigade councils ("everything is decided by the foreman").

As a whole, our survey indicated that in their current aspect brigade councils and councils of brigade leaders are ineffective because of the reciprocal lack of interest on the part of the workers and the members of the administration in enterprise self-management. The point is that the administration, being totally dependent on superior authorities, lacks adequate economic autonomy and is unable to ensure the implementation of the most important items of its contracts with the brigades. Strengthening the role of worker self-management at the enterprises presumes the need to take into consideration brigade requirements. However, under circumstances of constant plan amendments, planning on the basis of accomplishments, obsolete technical facilities and periodical foundering of deliveries among related enterprises, enterprise managements are unable to meet such demands. Therefore, the development of worker self-management conflicts with the status of enterprises within the system of production relations. The dependence here is simple: the more rights are given to enterprises in solving economic problems, the greater become the possibilities of developing worker self-management. In our view, perfecting the latter is possible only if a number of conditions are met: upgrading brigade economic autonomy through the application of total cost accounting; broadening brigade rights and the rights of brigade administration bodies in the distribution of overall brigade earnings (the right to handle the entire income from the conservation of material and manpower resources and the bulk of the wages and the KTU); ensuring the permanent participation of enterprise brigade-leader councils in decision making in matters of financing sociocultural measures and formulating regulations on the activities of brigade self-management bodies; the need to grant brigades means of quickly reacting to the violation of their rights by members of the administration, providing the workers with more detailed information on the activities of brigade self-management bodies and making mandatory accountability by such bodies to brigade and shop collectives.

Interconnection between wages and end labor results. The application of cost accounting in brigades, shops and entire enterprises and collective forms of labor organization not only to workers but also heads of shops and engineering and technical personnel, and broadening the economic independence of labor collectives raise in a new fashion the question of the interconnection between wages and labor results. In our view, the conceptional model of this interconnection must consist of three components.

1. Although directly related to their end work results, the wages of brigade members must also be based on the results of the entire shop and enterprise.

Only thus can the brigade members be interested in the efficient work of the entire collective.

2. The planning and financial bodies must establish and guarantee for the enterprises not the consumption funds of labor collectives, establishing petty regulations concerning all the details of their use, but, above all, scientifically substantiated withholdings from the value of the enterprise's net output paid to the state budget, based on the national means of production put at their disposal. Such withholdings should be differentiated by groups of related enterprises and on the basis of averaged standards, consistent with the average social labor productivity in such enterprise groups. The surplus of the net output should be given to the labor collectives for their own use, for developing the material and technical base of the enterprise above all and, secondly, for satisfying the collective and individual material and spiritual needs of their workers.

3. In taking as a base wage rates and salary difference, we must convert to a system of bonuses for individual labor, based on the overall amount of bonuses earned by the enterprise's collective, which is the leftover of enterprise income after payments to the state budget and after withholdings for the development of production and the share distribution of the overall bonus.

In our view, such steps would make it possible substantially to upgrade the efficiency of the brigade organization of labor.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The choice was based on the principle of purposeful selection. A total of 4,000 workers and 2,300 ITR in basic shops and plant managements were surveyed; the selection covered 12-15 percent of the workers and 20-25 percent of the ITR (by enterprise and enterprise subdivision).
2. This study was based on the selection of enterprises, shops and brigades in accordance with the existence and functioning of brigade self-management organs within them. The selection of enterprise units was based on the number of brigade members. All members of such brigades were surveyed. The array totaled approximately 12 percent of the total number. A total of 3,249 people were surveyed, of whom 2,262 workers, 625 managers and ITR, 162 brigade leaders, 127 foremen and 73 members of brigade councils of shops and enterprises. This was a representative selection for the republic's enterprises and industry surveyed.

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## POSSIBILITIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL FARM

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[Article by Ivar Khelmutovich Rayg, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate, Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics. Author of the book "Vashe Lichnoye Podsobnoye Khozyaystvo" [Your Private Auxiliary Plot] (1981, in Estonian). Author of the article "Typology of Private Auxiliary Plots" published in our journal (No 4, 1981)]

[Text] I would not sin against the truth by saying that in our country the attitude toward the individual farm is two-faced both among scientists and the public. On an abstract theoretical level, generally the specialists are unanimous: It does not conflict with the principles of socialism and plays a major social and economic role. This is pointed out also in the new draft of the CPSU program. Thus, one of the trends in meeting the needs of the country for agricultural commodities it includes is the use of the auxiliary plots of citizens and collective truck gardening. The program also states that the solution of the housing problem should contribute to the broader development of cooperative and individual construction.

Such is the CPSU strategic line. However, to this day when it becomes a question of describing the specific forms of individual labor activities, many social scientists are generous in their negative assessments: individual

plots, they claim, are a source of private-ownership feelings. Another variety of this view is ignoring the problem. Since, it is claimed, the individual plot is not subject to planning, we cannot speak of its major contributions to the economy. Exception is made of private auxiliary plots. In this case as well, however, it is only relatively recently that the attitude toward them has warmed up.

As to public opinion, stereotypes are quite prevalent: a person who cultivates his home plot and does nothing else is a parasite; if he sells the produce on the market, he is a speculator; if he repairs radio equipment in his leisure time, he is a moonlighter, etc. It is true that the opposite views are occasionally expressed as well. I have heard a wife tell her husband: "While you are at work, others are making money with their bare hands."

The concept of the individual farm as being some kind of "gold base" leads to the fact that, to this day, it is considered the stepson of our economic science and practice. The sociologists as well have still not expressed their views on the matter. Unquestionably, this critical attitude toward individual plots has its reason. The high income of vendors of fruits and vegetables on the market is the talk of the town. However, these and similar phenomena developed not without the help of breakdowns in the economic mechanism or errors and omissions in planning and in the organization of the distribution mechanism.

The party calls for daringly surmounting mental inertia and abandoning old methods. This presumes, in particular, a more profound interpretation of the realities of our life and taking a broader view on social management methods and means of accomplishing programmatic objectives. Today the social scientist is working on the concept of "accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. We believe that the individual plot has never before been considered from this viewpoint although, in our view, it is fully entitled to it.

The further growth of the population's prosperity depends, above all, on the work of large production enterprises and organizations, based on public ownership. Furthermore, economic activities based on the citizen's private property and taking place outside the area subject to direct state control, is quite widespread in all socialist countries. According to USSR Gosplan economists, our country spends 275 billion hours per year in domestic individual labor (7). For comparison's sake let us note that working time in public production totals 235 billion hours.

Until recently the prevailing view was that collective public production can solve all problems related to meeting population needs and that individual farms were a temporary phenomenon which would wither away gradually. The private auxiliary plot and other forms of individual-labor population activities were also limited by the requirement of meeting the need for manpower in large-scale public production. Frequently respective steps were taken regardless of local conditions. In a word, there were excesses (8), the negative consequences of which are still being felt. Part of the population lost interest in working outside of their jobs, although their activeness did



not increase in public production; a certain scarcity of some consumer goods and services appeared and remains, and the outflow of manpower from rural to urban areas did not stop.

Omissions had to be corrected. Therefore, in recent years the party and the state passed a number of decrees aimed at developing some areas of individual family farming, such as "On the Further Development of the Construction of Individual Housing and Retaining Cadres in the Countryside" (2); "On Additional Steps to Increase the Production of Agricultural Commodities in Citizens' Private Auxiliary Plots (3); "On Individual Housing Construction" (4); "On Streamlining the Organization of Collective Truck Gardening" (5), etc.

On what principles is individual farming by the population based? It is based on privately owned production tools, housing and buildings, farming and consumption objects and transportation vehicles, the right to the ownership of which is guaranteed by Articles 13 and 17 of the USSR Constitution.

In practice, economic relations in the area of individual population labor activities are a complex combination of personal and group (family) appropriation: individual-family property (9). Of late, new features have been added to these age-old, so to say, aspects. In particular, relations between individual-family ownership and collective and state ownership have been broadened. For example, kolkhozes, sovkhoses and enterprises help the population in producing farm goods. These new trends are a particularly clear manifestation of the fact that a farm based on individual-labor efforts of the population is a structural component of the socialist economy. It is related to public production and supplements it as it solves important social problems. This circumstance was also emphasized in M.S. Gorbachev's 17 May 1985 Leningrad speech: "That which we already have allows 20 million people to work and rest in summer during nonworking time. Many more people are requesting such gardens. We were somehow afraid of this as though it represented some kind of private enterprise. What kind of private enterprise could this be for a family to cultivate a small garden and spend its time out of doors?" (6).

Individual labor activities promote not only private but also governmental (national) interests. It is here that a certain percentage of the national income is created, a great deal of which with labor resources which, for a variety of reasons, cannot be fully used in public production. Furthermore, the individual enterprise largely meets the needs of the population for a number of goods and services. This applies, above all, to goods which large enterprises are still not finding profitable to produce, such as custom-made clothing. Products from private work eliminate shortages which appear as a result of planning errors and economic disproportions. It is true that in this case we feel particularly sharply that we are benefiting from the output of truly private farms. Nevertheless, supply meets demand, and industrial production gains time to restructure itself to meet consumer needs. Therefore, the functioning and structure of individual labor activities substantially depend on the level of development of public production and the availability of a number of commodities and services in the trade area.

The close interconnection between the individual farm and the public economy has its positive as well as negative sides. Under certain conditions, the benefits of the first partner are achieved at the expense of the interests of the second. Thus, broadening the scale and intensifying individual labor activities lowers the public production activeness of some workers. However, not only the individual enterprise but the incentive system could be blamed in this case. The possibility of earning better "on the side" than at the enterprise cools off the labor enthusiasm at the main place of work. Individual work "on the side" some times adversely affects labor discipline. This problem as well, however, is related not only to this work but also to the fact that more intensive work at public enterprises is not always adequately encouraged and that under the conditions of labor shortages managements are usually more tolerant of violators than the latter deserve.

The type of work done is crucial in understanding the socioeconomic nature of the individual enterprise. Private labor activities under socialism are included in the social division of labor and, in this sense, have a social nature. In this case, individual activities are a derivative and a structural component of the socialist economic sector and obey the laws of the latter. However, unlike labor in public production, technical facilities in individual enterprises are small. We believe, however, that here it is not a matter of their socioeconomic nature but of shortcomings in economic controls and, above all, the poor availability of minor mechanization facilities. Nevertheless, it is a fact that from the viewpoint of the efficient utilization of labor resources, for the time being individual labor activities play a conflicting economic and social role in our society.

The view is frequently expressed that income from individual labor activities is not an economic form of the necessary product (see, for example, (10)). We disagree with this viewpoint. Obviously, said income goes to its owner not through a direct distribution based on labor (although it is a labor income) or from social consumption funds. The output of the individual farm is not only appropriated in the course of its production but also follows a separate path in turning into personal consumption. In this case, the product can have two aspects: natural or commodity. The first group applies to objects created for personal consumption or for use free of charge by other individuals, such as relatives or friends. In such a situation, the individual enterprise is reproduced through the income earned by citizens from public production and with the help of the state or the enterprise. The commodity form arises when the produce is sold directly to the state, to kolkhozes, sovkhoses or cooperatives, or on the market. In this case, the citizens enter into commodity-monetary relations, in the course of which the created added product is marketed and its monetary equivalent is retained in its virtual totality as the private property of the family members (after paying a minimal tax). This offers the possibility of earning a relatively high income. This possibility, however, is a necessary prerequisite for interesting the population in individual labor activities. Therefore, the real economic content of the product of the individual farm is characterized by a combination of physical and commodity features. In both cases, however, the derived income is part of the necessary product.

The private plot is an integral, a relatively autonomous area of economic activity. It also includes a number of structural components which could be considered as elements of sectorial subsystems. Let us mention the main ones: 1. The household; 2. The private auxiliary plot; 3. Individual construction; 4. Individual consumer services; 5. Craft-artisan production.

Naturally, the structure of the household is a form of consumption whereas the private auxiliary farm is primarily an area for the organization of material production; material goods and monetary income based on them can be subdivided into "official" (i.e., de facto acknowledged as not violating the law, for the possibility of earning such income is stipulated in legal acts), and "latent." Later on we shall consider activities related to both forms of income. Let us incidentally point out that the functioning of the so-called gray economy is increasingly drawing the attention of Soviet social scientists (11).

The household is the area of intrafamily relations which appear in the course of the process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of material goods within the family. The main task of the household is to provide individual consumption. Here products undergo final processing and are adapted to the individual needs of the family members. Objects of economic and cultural-consumer use are maintained in suitable condition. Some studies have confirmed that the volume of household chores is increasing rather than diminishing (12). This is explained, first of all, by the insufficient development of the service industry and, secondly, an increase in monetary income and, consequently, of requirements, which leads to the appearance of new types of activities (caring for household appliances, garden buildings and motor vehicles, etc.). In the LaSSR, for example, labor invested in the household increased by 16 percent from 1966 to 1977 (14). Household work plays a particularly great role in food preparations. According to selective studies, nearly 90 percent of the population of our country eat at home and on an average up to 40 percent of the time invested in the household is spent on food preparations (15). The remaining time goes to maintaining the daily life of the members of the family, care for personal and family consumption items and housecleaning.

The education of children is the next most important function. The network of public institutions aimed at helping the family in this matter is expanding quite rapidly. By the end of 1983 the number of places in children's preschool establishments had exceeded 86,000 in the EsSSR (16, p 185). They were attended by approximately three-quarters of the children of the respective age group. Nevertheless, naturally such institutions cannot entirely replace the family, particularly in shaping the moral qualities of the personality. Thus, in recent years, we have spoken a great deal about the labor upbringing of children and adolescents, seeking new ways, expanding labor units, etc. Should we not, however, restore respect for household work, for it develops not only a responsible attitude toward work as such but also a feeling of the social significance of labor. Virtually all household functions are socially necessary. Let us try to imagine what would happen if suddenly everyone would decide to eat not at home but in public catering institutions. In Estonia alone this would require the additional opening of thousands of public catering enterprises, supplying them with personnel, etc.

The private auxiliary plot. Unlike the household, such plots are available, as a rule, only to families which have land. Let us note, however, that if the owner of a privately owned house does not grow farm crops on his garden plot but uses it as decorative garden his labor becomes part of the labor of the household.

In 1983 46.6 million families of kolkhoz members, workers and employees had private auxiliary plots, totaling 8.5 million hectares of land and accounting for more than one-quarter of all agricultural output (17). In the EsSSR, although the absolute number of rural residents is declining relatively quickly, the number of private auxiliary plots (LPKh) is increasing. Thus, the number of plots given to the population increased from 242,000 in 1965 to 299,000 in 1984. Therefore, one way or another, nearly one-half of all families in the republic have LPKh. LPKh work in the summer months takes as many as 50 hours per week among the rural population.

Of late, as a whole the share of LPKh in gross agricultural output in the republic has declined. In the case of individual items, however, the private sector is firmly holding a leading position. In 1983 it accounted for 93.1 percent of the wool, 84 percent of fruits and berries, 42.2 percent of vegetables, 32.2 percent of potatoes, 22.7 percent of eggs, 18.5 percent of milk and 19.6 percent of meat produced (23, pp 54-57). A significant portion of this output goes to the market and is purchased by 25 percent of families living in the city. A survey conducted in the republic in 1980 indicated that this applies mainly to produce which is not always available in state and cooperative stores or else the quality of which does not meet consumer demand. Honey, good quality eggs and potatoes, fruits and berries are acquired by 20 percent of urban families directly from relatives, friends or acquaintances living in the countryside. This kind of trade is advantageous to both partners: village prices are lower than on the market and the producer, avoiding travel to the city, saves time and money.

Individual construction. In 1984 USSR citizens privately owned 1,645,000,000 square meters of useful housing area, or 41.4 percent of the entire housing in the country, 35 percent in urban and 65 percent in rural areas. In 1984 individual construction accounted for 11 percent of the total number of completed housing units (18). However, this percentage is declining. In the EsSSR said indicator equaled 8.6 percent and the share of privately owned housing had dropped to 18 percent for urban and 51 percent for rural areas (23, pp 94-95).

A number of steps have been taken in recent years to stimulate private construction. However, its development is hindered by a number of obstacles. It is essentially a question of material and technical supplies and organizational aspects. The individual builder needs a great deal more assistance than people raising cattle or engaging in truck gardening. First of all, procuring construction materials requires a great deal of effort; secondly, one must find skilled workers unless one has acquired the necessary construction skills. According to specialists, the main reasons for the scarcity of construction materials are errors in the planning and allocation of stocks. In the EsSSR the individual house builder spends no less than 250-300 working hours annually to purchase such materials. A great deal of time

is spent in finding skilled workers. In a word, the future house owner, who would like to build a house quickly and well, must have exceptional organizational talent.

Custom consumer services. In recent years they have been encouraged by the existence of major defects in the public consumer service industry. In the EsSSR, for example, in 1983 the average monthly wages of workers and employees was 201 rubles, nearly twice the 1965 level, and consumer services cost the monthly family budget no more than 4.5 rubles per person (16, pp 216-217). As we know, no high production efficiency can be achieved without a corresponding development of the service industry. Today it is largely held back by the lack of available manpower. In this situation as well, it would be unwise not to use available private services.

Currently more contracts are being concluded between citizens, who are prepared to provide the population with services, and financial authorities. This has substantially improved the situation in services, such as repairs of automobiles, television and radio equipment, clothing, shoes, and leasing premises in resorts. This has also made it possible to establish basic control over private services. The same cannot be said about construction, transportation services and house repairs. In these areas, specialists in customs services are left to their own devices; they are rather hard to find, for which reason the prices they charge are high. Look at any newspaper or an advertising supplement. They are full of demands for babysitters, people to take care of the sick, massagists, etc. We have estimated that the share of private services accounts for approximately 40 percent of the total services provided to the population.

Simply legalizing private population services is insufficient: they must be given extensive organizational and economic support.

Craft-artisan production is related primarily to the manufacturing of durable goods, such as clothing, furniture, kitchen equipment, gardening tools, toys, etc. Such work is done primarily by elderly people. In 1984 the financial authorities in the EsSSR had 648 artisans registered. Most of them were tailors and folk-art craftsmen. Studies made in 1982 by the republic Ministry of Consumer Services, indicate that such work was the source of the main income of no more than 10 percent of registered craftsmen-artisans (19).

This group also includes people working at home for enterprises. Work at home is, on the one hand, a form of individual labor activity and, on the other, part of a planned and organized large-scale public production. In the EsSSR such workers number more than 3,000. They are mainly pensioners, the handicapped and mothers with small children. They are essentially employed by the enterprises of the ministries of local and light industries.

Individual work plays a substantial role in the families of the creative intelligentsia as well. Its members work at home, making various art objects, not always on the basis of official orders. Consequently, some such goods are sold outside the public trade system.

Even the data we cited clearly prove that private work involves a number of problems and contradictions. Problem No 1, as we already pointed out, is the possibility of earning a high income. However, this calls for two stipulations: first, in itself a high income is not evil. On the contrary, since it is a question of upgrading the well-being and the question should be phrased as follows: is this income consistent with the invested labor and how (from whom) was it earned? The accuracy of this approach seems apparent. Nevertheless, when it becomes a question of the advantages of marketing privately produced items, this is frequently considered a violation of social justice. Secondly, on what is the view concerning high income based? Such knowledge comes essentially from personal familiarity with market prices, newspaper reports and, partially, court records. Unfortunately, there are virtually no accurate data enabling us directly to establish the financial results of various forms of private work. Furthermore, when we speak of income we should not forget production costs, which no one other than the worker himself has estimated.

Nevertheless, the problem of income is by no means fictitious. Frequently prices of goods and services provided on a private basis exceed those of stores or state service centers by several hundred percent. Above all, the added product of private work remains in its virtual entirety at the disposal of the producer. Meanwhile, the latter consumes goods created through the efforts of other people and benefits from social consumption funds (free medical services, social insurance, etc.). This is a violation of the principle of distribution according to labor. It also has an adverse effect on the moral atmosphere in society.

Earning well "under the counter" is also fraught with the possibility that a certain percentage of people will concentrate their efforts above all on the development of their private business. This worsens manpower shortages in public production. This threat would indeed become real if the organization of private work is kept at its present level. What countermeasures could be suggested? In our view, we must increase interest in the growth of labor productivity among those holding low-paid jobs: raise their wages, offer bonuses, allow them to combine skills, and grant them other benefits.

Private work is frequently primitive. From the viewpoint of the content of labor it consists of simple operations and takes a great deal of time. This hinders the growth of educational and cultural standards and the performance of fruitful high-skilled work within the public production system. The law of time saving is universal, applicable to all levels and realms of economic activities, private work included. Therefore, greater attention should be paid to increasing the efficiency of private work and help to strengthen its ties with public production. Extensive electrification and use of minor labor mechanization facilities would increase the overall free time of the members of society and provide new conditions for the further growth of the population's well-being. Soviet economists have estimated that merely greater use of electric power at home would reduce the working time of family members by a factor of 3-4 (20). Neglecting this possibility is irresponsible.

The private plot contributes to the fuller and more efficient utilization of the family's labor potential. Furthermore, studies have confirmed that it

takes less manpower away from public production than it draws on otherwise inaccessible resources (21). In order to facilitate labor in various private plots and upgrade its efficiency in the social interest, cooperation must be developed between individual and public labor methods (such as the family contract (22)). This would enable us to utilize in the national economy labor and material reserves which cannot be tapped through traditional methods. Here is another argument in its favor: for the time being the private plot is better in the case of some farm products such as, for example, livestock raising. At this point we should remember the view expressed by V.I. Lenin that "In industry as well the law of superior large-scale production is by no means as absolute and simple as is sometimes believed; there as well the equality of 'other conditions' (which is hardly the case at all times in reality) can guarantee the full applicability of this law. In farming, which is distinguished by an incomparably greater complexity and variety of relations, the total applicability of the law of the superiority of large-scale production is subject to substantially stricter conditions" (1).

At the present time the integration between private and public economic methods is being accelerated. Let us consider animal husbandry. Feed production is increasingly becoming the work of public farms while the population is increasingly undertaking to raise and feed cattle. The marketing and processing of animal husbandry products are in the hands of large enterprises. Such redistribution of the economic process is advantageous and, at the present stage, totally coincidental with the basic interests of the national economy. Such cooperation is widespread in the fraternal socialist countries, not only in agriculture but in services, construction of individual housing and other economic sectors.

Today by no means are all possibilities of the private plot used in the interest of society. Furthermore, a number of processes in this area conflict with these interests. In order to eliminate negative trends constant state support of individual labor activities is needed. Naturally, totally inadmissible here are petty supervision and rigid controls. This area requires deeply thought-out decisions and scientific recommendations. It would be difficult in all of this to overestimate the role of economists and production organizers. Furthermore, the penetration of this extremely delicate area of individual labor activities is simply inconceivable without sociological recommendations.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. Our country has more than 10 million motor vehicle enthusiasts. In 1984 there were 97 privately owned motor vehicles per 1,000 population in the EsSSR. The role of private transport in the structure of automotive passenger transportation has increased in the USSR over the past 13 years from 9.9 to 29.4 percent (13). On the one hand, the automobile saves time and improves the quality of life; on the other, as it ages it begins to take an increasing amount of its owner's time for servicing and repairs, particularly if the automobile repair industry is insufficiently developed.

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## PUBLIC OPINION ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DRUNKENNESS AND ALCOHOLISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 42-49



[Article by Mikhail Konstantinovich Gorshkov, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, and Frants Edmundovich Sheregi, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center. Both are permanent contributors to our journal]

[Text] The firm course charted by the party of accelerating socioeconomic development makes the moral advancement of society and, above all, making sobriety a standard of our lives, a task of primary topical importance. The broad movement against drunkenness and alcoholism, which has developed in our country, is comprehensively gathering strength. This is yielding tangible results. It is possible as of now confidently to speak of improvements in the moral climate in many labor collectives and families, improved discipline and organization and enhanced labor productivity. The people have become less tolerant of drunkenness. This has improved order in the streets of towns and villages, enterprise shops and establishments. The number of delinquencies and cases of hooliganism, related to alcohol consumption, has declined substantially; the number of traffic accidents and various conflict situations at work has diminished.

Nevertheless, as the 18 September 1985 CPSU Central Committee decree notes, "There remain major shortcomings along with the positive processes. Whereas the overwhelming majority of Soviet citizens warmly approve the measures taken, a certain percentage of alcohol users are waiting for weaknesses to appear and showing their displeasure with the steps aimed against drunkenness" (2, pp 26-27). Confident that such moods will not find support among millions of Soviet people, the party calls for the struggle against drunks, relying not only on the force of the law but of public opinion as well, and the use of all possibilities of social and educational influence (Ibid.).

An appeal to public opinion is legitimate, for in the acceleration of socioeconomic development and in resolving the most topical and vital problems of our life, the CPSU is guided by Lenin's idea of relying on the consciousness, initiative, creativity and power of the people's masses. We cannot do without interested public opinion and its firm and energetic support in creating an atmosphere of total intolerance of drunks and inevitability of a principle-minded condemnation of drunkenness. We cannot fight a social evil, Lenin stressed, "unless we are helped by the mass of the people" (1).

What is the actual level reached by public opinion on the problem of surmounting drunkenness and alcoholism? Now, at the start of the struggle for sobriety, is it displaying sufficient maturity and a degree of information, interest and persistence, and what are the group judgments and evaluations which are still inconsistent with the steps being taken, aimed at radically improving our way of life? It is hardly necessary to prove the importance of answers to such questions, which were the base of the program for the study of public opinion, which was conducted on 15-20 June 1985.<sup>1</sup> The survey was of a probing nature, for which reason we are extending the resulting data and, respectively, the formulated conclusions, primarily to the array of those surveyed. Temporal shifts in public opinion also must be taken into consideration.

Let us emphasize, above all, that, according to the collected information, no one has remained indifferent to the party's efforts to surmount drunkenness and alcoholism. This is convincingly confirmed by the fact alone that 88 percent of the respondents carefully read the documents describing the course charted and specific steps taken in the struggle against this socially dangerous evil, while the remaining 12 percent listened to radio and television announcements on the subject. Virtually all participants in the survey agreed that the struggle which was developed against drunkenness and alcoholism is necessary and timely. However, the attitude toward the specific punishments showed differences. We shall discuss this in greater detail.

Misdemeanors and the need for and effectiveness of punishment, expressed by the respondents, could be classified into eight groups: appearing in public in a state of intoxication; drinking alcoholic beverages on the street, in sports stadiums and parks; consumption of alcohol at work; making alcoholic beverages at home and storing large quantities of them; purchasing alcoholic beverages made at home; making minors drink; speculating in wine and alcohol goods; violating the rules of selling alcoholic beverages to the population by trade workers.

Judging by the data we obtained, the overwhelming majority of the respondents approve of the need to impose punishments for such delinquencies; a particularly large number of them believe that drinking alcohol in the streets, in sports stadiums and parks and violating the rules of selling vodka and other alcoholic beverages by trade and public catering enterprise workers, must be punished (85.1 and 80.2 percent respectively). A lesser percentage of those surveyed believed that penalties must be imposed in cases of public drunkenness (71.3 percent), making or keeping for personal use moonshine, chacha, arak or mulberry vodka (69.4 percent) or purchasing moonshine (74.5 percent). The latter two indicators were even lower in Georgia and Moldavia, respectively 45.3 and 41.3 percent; and 59.4 and 62.2 percent. Obviously, this is due to wine making customs and old traditions. Obviously, the economic interests of the population in said areas plays a certain role in this connection.

Some differences were noted in the assessments of members of individual professional groups and the urban and rural population. For example, 77.4 percent of employees and 56.9 percent of mechanizers in agriculture approve the imposition of penalties for making and keeping moonshine; and 77.3 percent of ITR and scientific workers and 57.4 percent of mechanizers approve of penalties for purchasing it. No significant differences based on age and sex were found.

It is indicative that, in itself, the fact of imposing penalties for alcohol abuse did not trigger the universal objection of those who "drink frequently" (three categories were established on the basis of the self-rating of the respondents: "abstain totally," "drink rarely," and "drink frequently"). Thus, in this group the percentage of supporters of penalties for drinking alcohol in trains was 64.7 percent; 57.5 percent approved of penalties for making and keeping moonshine, and 62.6 percent for purchasing moonshine. The indicators among the "totally abstaining" group were, respectively, 82.7, 76.9 and 78.3 percent. In our view, such data proved that most people (paradoxically though it may seem, including individuals who frequently consume alcohol) consider said actions to be in violation of the law. Actually, the same could be said of the other types of delinquencies related to alcohol abuse. The mass consciousness considers them violations and deviations from the standards, for which reason it is natural that from the viewpoint of the majority of the respondents, they should be punishable.

The picture changes on the subject of eliminating forms of consumption of alcoholic beverages which have entered our life quite firmly in recent decades and, to a certain extent, become traditional. In particular, no more than 40.5 percent (35.1 percent of the members of the intelligentsia and employees) are in favor of not serving alcoholic beverages at banquets and receptions; 55.2 percent of the respondents were in favor of banning the drinking of alcohol during collective trips (out of town, excursions, etc.). Characteristically, however, such "entertainment" is more severely condemned by young people at the onset of their careers. Here is a comparison: 61.8 percent of respondents under the age of 20 were in favor of banning alcohol in community recreation, compared with 48.6 percent in the 41-50-year-old group.

Therefore, most people approve of punishment. However, what kind of punishment should this be? How strictly should the culprit be taken to task? The study of the obtained data indicated that there was no complete unanimity of the expediency and efficiency of specific measures, although a certain trend may be noted quite clearly in the answers. For example, fines (the use of which, as we know, is stipulated in a number of cases related to alcohol abuse) are considered by the respondents as the least effective method in the struggle against drunkenness. Between 40 and 60 percent of the respondents (depending on the misdemeanor subject to punishment) consider a fine as excessively mild punishment inconsistent with the delinquency, particularly in the case of speculating in alcoholic beverages (58.9 percent), parents offering alcoholic drinks to minors (57.2 percent), or outsiders offering drinks to minors (56.1 percent). We may assume that public opinion considers as more effective sentencing to corrective labor for 1-2 months or a 15 day administrative detention. Indeed, this was favored, respectively, by 63.1 and 56.6 percent of the respondents. Nevertheless, 20.4 percent of respondents opposed deprivation of freedom as punishment for repeated intoxication in public, believing this to be excessively severe; 22.7 percent considered such punishment unnecessary for making moonshine, and 18.5 percent, for buying it.

The most approved of the administrative penalties were loss of bonus (77.9 percent) and of a voucher for a rest home or sanatorium (72.7 percent); fewer respondents agreed to losing one's turn for housing (62.1 percent).

As a whole, 34-50 percent of the respondents consider the stipulated penalties for alcohol abuses insufficiently strict and only approximately 15 percent believed them to be excessively strict. Therefore, basically the people are firmly in favor of eliminating this socially dangerous evil. Nevertheless, although the number of people dissatisfied with the effectiveness of antialcohol measures was quite significant, we were unable to determine some new constructive suggestions which could be supported by the majority of the respondents. In addition to the approval of stiffer fines for speculating in alcoholic beverages (31.2 percent) and support for bringing order in sales of alcoholic beverages in stores and restaurants without eliminating their production (24.4 percent) let us note suggestions that managerial personnel be taken more strictly to task and ensuring the strict observance of banning alcoholic beverage sales to people under 21 (53.3 and 58.1 percent, respectively). Furthermore, 21.3 percent of the respondents favored the establishment of stipulated norms related to limiting the purchase of alcoholic beverages; 17.3 percent were in favor of stopping the production of fortified wine without stopping the production of liqueurs and vodka products and dry wines; another 16 percent favored the production of dry wines only; 2.4 percent considered raising the prices of alcoholic beverages as an efficient method in the struggle against drunkenness. Therefore, the majority clearly underestimated a major factor such as the degree of accessibility of alcohol to the population.

It was noteworthy that 18.7 percent of the respondents (40.8 percent among young people under 20) were in favor of totally stopping the production of all types of alcoholic beverages. This view was supported by 37.7 percent even among those "totally abstaining" (8.6 percent by "drinkers").

We believe that in the initial stage of the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, this situation is entirely explainable, for it is based on the nature of alcohol consumption by the different population groups, which developed before the movement for sobriety was launched in the country (see Table 1).

Table 1. Features of Alcoholic Beverage Consumption  
By Surveyed Category, Percent of Alcohol Consumers

Respondents Sociodemographic Characteristics	Drink Primarily			
	At Home	With Colleagues	With Friends and Acquaintances Outside the Home and the Job	With Anyone
Occupation:				
Industrial Workers	42.9	32.0	22.6	2.5
Agricultural Workers	34.7	37.6	21.4	6.3
Intelligentsia and Employees	46.2	26.9	24.9	2.0
Age (years):				
Under 20	29.5	26.3	37.9	6.3
20-25	40.1	26.5	29.5	3.9
26-30	40.1	28.6	27.7	3.6
31-40	43.9	34.6	19.0	2.5
41-50	51.0	28.6	18.4	2.0
Over 50	55.1	32.4	10.8	1.7
Sex:				
Male	38.7	33.8	23.9	3.6
Female	49.4	25.4	23.1	2.1
Family Status:				
Married	47.8	30.6	19.4	2.2
Unmarried	32.5	29.7	53.6	4.2

Table 2. Frequency of Alcohol Consumption Based on Age, Percent

Age	Abstain Totally	Drink Rarely	Drink Frequently
Under 20	50.8	28.3	20.9
20-25	28.4	49.3	22.3
26-30	21.1	54.4	24.5
31-40	18.1	54.7	27.2
41-50	17.3	50.8	31.9
Over 50	20.3	49.5	30.2

According to self-ratings, at the time of the survey an average of 43.3 percent of alcohol consumers drank primarily at home; 30.4 percent, with work colleagues; 23.5 percent with friends and acquaintances outside the home and the job; and 2.8 percent with anyone. As the table shows, the older the people get the more frequently they drink within the family circle. Such data cannot fail to draw our attention, particularly if we bear in mind that 38.1 percent of those surveyed named "group" traditions as the main reason for

alcohol consumption; 27.9 percent quoted "family" reasons and 24.6 percent, "customary in intercourse" (among "frequent drinkers" the figures were even higher: 54, 34.5 and 48.4 percent respectively). For the sake of comparison, we must add that dissatisfaction with the work as a reason which makes the people resort to alcohol was cited in only 9.1 percent of the cases.

The danger of the social consequences of drinking at home is convincingly confirmed by the results of special studies. It was established, in particular, that 96.2 percent (!) of the hard drinkers had begun to drink before they were 15; 39 percent of the children were exposed to alcohol by their parents and 58 percent by adult acquaintances or relatives (3, 9). It was also established that 70 percent of juvenile delinquents had their first "taste" of alcohol at home (4). Therefore, energizing the efforts to uproot drinking from family life, family celebrations and ceremonies, is a most important task in the course of the comprehensively developed struggle for sobriety. Public opinion is assigned a major role in the successful solution of this problem. As our survey indicated, today, unfortunately, ideas of the harmlessness of family drinking are still very strongly rooted in the mass consciousness. Thus, only 22.3 percent of all respondents favored excluding alcohol from family traditions. Characteristically, however, in youth groups under 20, i.e., among those who are only beginning their independent job and family life, this indicator was significantly higher--40.8 percent. Conversely, alcohol consumption (self-assessed) among the members of said category was lower than among the other respondents (Table 2). This proves once again that attraction to alcohol is not in the least an organic element of youth subculture but is largely shaped as the result of following the traditions of senior generations.

We believe that said data are sufficient to note a certain contradiction. On the one hand, there is a sharp condemnation of drunkenness and alcoholism on the part of the overwhelming majority and a total support of the party's course of eliminating such distorted phenomena and even a recognition of the need for stricter measures to be taken against their carriers. On the other hand, some of the respondents tried to protect themselves from accusations and somehow to justify the "quiet" home, "cultural-moderate," traditional, etc., consumption of alcoholic beverages, failing to realize to its full extent the tremendous harm which alcohol causes to man and society and their personal role in the antialcohol struggle. How to coordinate, for example, the data in Tables 1 and 2 with the following information: nearly three-quarters of all respondents admit to having a deep conviction that the consumption of alcohol causes significant economic and moral harm to the state, destroys the person's health and has a fatal influence on future generations. Nor is this "deep conviction" consistent with the fact that in the opinion of more than one-half of those surveyed, alcohol is harming only if a person does not know "his own" measure and exceeds it. In our view, the explanation here can be only one: although 86.6 percent of respondents believed to be sufficiently informed about the harm caused by alcohol, in reality the knowledge of many of them in this area is quite superficial. Meanwhile, statistical figures confirm that between 32 and 45 percent of divorces in the country are caused by drunkenness and alcoholism on the part of either spouse, which means the annual breakup of 300,000-400,000 families (5) and that some 350,000 children lose a parents (6); 50 percent of all crimes in the country are committed by

parasites (7), 80 percent of whom consume alcoholic beverages (8); the rate of suicide among drinkers is higher by a factor of 80 compared with abstainers; 70 percent of cases of venereal disease occurred in a drunken state (VOZ data, see (9)).

A "theory" promoted, unfortunately, also by some social scientists is contributory to preventing the uprooting of still widespread concepts of the inadmissibility and "harmlessness" of "educated" consumption of alcohol. For example, here is the way the problem is interpreted by G.M. Podorov: "What are we referring to in discussing the development of a wine-drinking culture? What are the requirements mandatory for everyone in consuming alcoholic beverages?... Everyone without exception must know when one could drink, where, with whom and how much, in order not to lose his human aspect, not be a burden to the family, not cause damage to his job, and not to shame the labor collective and the reputation of the Soviet person" (10). Obviously, we do not have to point out the shaky nature of such criteria and, consequently, the harmfulness of such instructions.

The purposeful, persistent and convincing explanation of the entire harm to the individual and society of the consumption of any amount of alcohol is one of the most important tasks which must be implemented in the course of the comprehensive struggle for asserting sobriety as a standard of our life. The efficiency of antialcohol education, judging by the survey, will greatly depend on the differentiated approach, i.e., on the extent of consideration of the characteristics inherent in the attitude of the different socioprofessional and age population groups toward alcohol in general and the nature (place, reason) of its consumption, in particular. This equally applies to "simple" matters, such as distinguishing between ways and means of struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. No more than 21.4 percent of those surveyed consider alcoholism a disease, and 51.6 percent classify it as immoral behavior which can be corrected merely through punishments and reeducation. It is important to prove with specific examples that the struggle which we have initiated for improving all aspects of life is expanding and yielding positive results. In a word, everywhere antialcohol propaganda must be organized in such a way that "the people can see and profoundly realize that there will be no concessions or weakening of effort in such problems and that the work which is being done is in the interest of every Soviet person and of society as a whole" (2, p 28).

The successful implementation of the targets presumes paying close attention to the reasons for drunkenness and alcoholism and the conditions which will enable us to eliminate such distorted phenomena; 49.4 percent of the respondents (51.9 percent of those over 30 and 55.1 percent of women) believe that the main reason for drunkenness is the connivance of administrative bodies. One of the factors contributing to drunkenness and alcoholism is believed by 35.2 percent of the respondents to be the low educational and cultural standards of the drinkers (supporters of this viewpoint are found most frequently among the intelligentsia--44.2 percent--and least of all among agricultural workers--17.9 percent). However, judging by the results of the survey, based on self-ratings (Table 3), the conclusion is that no correlation was found between alcohol consumption and educational level.



TABLE 3. ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION FREQUENCY BASED ON EDUCATION LEVEL, PERCENT

Respondent Answers	Level of Education					
	7th-9th Grade	10th-11th Grade	PTU, STU	Technical School	Unfinished Higher	Higher
Total Abstainers	33.3	22.3	29.6	22.3	25.2	21.8
Drink Rarely	36.7	38.8	49.1	54.1	49.5	54.0
Drink Frequently	21.1	23.7	17.8	19.7	21.4	19.5
No Answer	8.9	15.2	3.5	3.8	3.8	4.7

TABLE 4. ALCOHOL FREQUENCY CONSUMPTION BASED ON INCOME LEVEL PER FAMILY MEMBER, PERCENT

Respondent Answers	Income per Family Member, Rubles					
	80 or less	81-90	91-100	101-150	151-200	Over 200
Total Abstainers	30.1	21.7	24.9	22.9	16.9	15.1
Drink Rarely	44.1	52.7	54.0	50.4	54.5	50.7
Drink Frequently	21.3	21.0	17.0	21.9	24.2	22.4
No Answer	4.5	4.6	4.1	3.8	4.4	11.8

It is also noteworthy that no more than 8.3 percent of the respondents believe drunkenness to the consequence of "surplus" funds. Most of them see no connection between material well-being and liking of alcohol, as indicated also by the data in Table 4.

How can drunkenness be eliminated? According to the respondents, the main prerequisites are developing in the labor collectives an atmosphere of intolerance of this socially dangerous evil (54.2 percent) and increasing possibilities of cultural recreation and sports (52.9 percent). It is true that the views of the respondents in the two extreme age groups and of individual social professional categories here are somewhat disparate which, clearly, is related to differences in their interests and practical experience. Thus, the great role of a stricter atmosphere and public opinion of the collective was noted by 43.4 percent of respondents under 20 and 61.3 percent of those over 50. Among the intelligentsia, this viewpoint was shared by 60.8 percent, while the percentage among workers in industry and agriculture was, respectively, 47.2 and 49.7. The young people consider the development of a network of coffee shops and snack bars in which nonalcoholic beverages are served (40.8 percent) and increasing the number of clubs and movie theatres an important step in the struggle against drunkenness.

The fact that the effectiveness of public opinion of labor collectives is considered the main prerequisite for surmounting drunkenness is totally consistent with the party line "...of truly enhancing their role in developing an atmosphere of intolerance toward any violations and delinquencies caused by drunkenness..." (2, p 28). The survey indicated substantial possibilities in this area. Whereas 64.4 percent of respondents openly and publicly speak out against drunkenness, 17.9 percent show a passive attitude, preferring not to

voice their condemnation. Furthermore, 17.8 percent of the respondents follow the principle of "this is not my concern, everyone is responsible for himself." Therefore, more than 35 percent of the respondents classified themselves as neutral observers of the developing anti-alcohol movement. Naturally, this should not be ignored by the managements and public organizations of labor collectives.

Therefore, the "sounding" of public opinion proved that the majority was unanimous on the basic problems of eliminating drunkenness and alcoholism. Nevertheless, public opinion was divided in assessing the specific ways, means and measures of struggle against this socially dangerous evil, leading to the formation of group judgments. This trend is based on differences in practical experience, the specific interests of individual socioprofessional and demographic communities and the extent of individual consumption of alcohol and attachment to existing traditions, views and customs. A fuller and more comprehensive study of public opinion concerning problems of surmounting drunkenness and alcoholism and clarifying the trends of its further development will require intensified sociological studies and repeated mass surveys.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. The survey was based on a program developed by the author and covering 11 areas in the country with distinct traditions in the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages: the industrial areas of Siberia, the Urals and along the Volga (Irkutsk and Gorkiy oblasts, and Bashkir ASSR); the Moldavian and Georgian SSRs (wine and chacha production); Kirovograd and Vitebsk oblasts (sugar beets and potatoes); the Estonian SSR (the highest indicator of consumption of pure alcohol in the country); the Tajik SSR (nonalcohol drinking traditions); Kerch (the Crimea, a port city) and Moscow. A total of 2,444 people were surveyed, aged from 18 to 60; those surveyed included workers in industrial enterprises and engineering and technical and scientific workers in the cities and livestock breeders, crop growers and mechanizers in the villages.

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SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICE

CADRE TURNOVER CONTROL SYSTEM IN THE TIRE-MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

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[Article by Vyacheslav Yakovlevich Belenkiy, head of the laboratory for social planning, sociological research and psychophysiology of labor, Dneproshina Large-Size Tires Scientific Research Institute (Dnepropetrovsk). This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] We know that more than 20 million people change jobs annually within the same enterprise, move to other parts of the country or transfer to other enterprises. All of this creates negative economic consequences and social losses (2).

The problem of stabilization of labor collectives at tire-industry enterprises has been serious for a number of years. It is true that of late positive trends have been noted: cadre turnover declined from 18 to 13.7 percent, including from 19.3 to 14.6 percent among workers, from 1981 to 1984. Nevertheless, the Soyuzshina VPO remains one of the most unstable subsectors, yielding the "championship" in this indicator only to Soyuzremshina and Soyuzspetsneftekhimmash. The specific features of the tire industry are related to hygienic and psychophysiological labor conditions: work in three

shifts, sectors with work harmful to the health, and heavy manual work performed by about 20 percent of the workers. Our studies have indicated that this develops in young people a specific psychophysiological discomfort and dissatisfaction. The tire industry is substantially behind the other economic sectors in the level of technical equipment and labor automation and mechanization. A number of associations and plants need radical reconstruction and extensive installation of new equipment and use of progressive technology. The nature of the production process does not allow the employment of pensioners, women and adolescents, the use of a sliding work time schedule or half-time work. The existence in the vicinity of enterprises offering more comfortable working conditions and, frequently, higher wages, contributes to lowering the prestige of work skills in tire-manufacturing. Finally, there is the effect of manpower shortages.

All of this combined urgently demands systematic efforts to stabilize labor collectives. This, specifically, is the job of the social planning, sociological research and psychophysiology of labor laboratory of the Large-Scale Tire Scientific Research Institute, which was established in 1981 on the basis of the facilities of the Dneproshina Production Association in Dnepropetrovsk which, together with the cadre and economic services, developed and is successfully applying a number of efficient methods for the study and control of worker cadre turnover. The practical experience of the laboratory was summed up by the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and recommended for application at other sectorial enterprises.

Let us discuss in greater detail the experience acquired in sociological work among collectives of tire-industry enterprises. Every year sociologists collect statistical data through several methods. The first of them reflects indicators, such as the average number of workers, the number of newly hired or laid off (including those who resign and those who are fired for violating labor and social discipline), and the cadre turnover coefficient. All such indicators are classified by sex and age in accordance with the professional structure and length of work at the enterprise. The second document records reasons for leaving, classified into nine groups: personal, housing problem, labor conditions, inconsistency between job and training or grade of skill, error in choice of profession, poor organization of labor, dissatisfaction with wages, conflict situations, etc.

The standardized indicators characterizing cadre turnover enabled us to undertake a comparative statistical study of the nature, characteristics of the dynamics and the actual turnover, through document studies. Furthermore, field studies were initiated of the actual and potential turnover directly at enterprises. It is noteworthy that the socioproduction situation in the collective becomes particularly clear when the results of hygiene studies have been added to sociological data. The psychophysiological studies of the evaluation of the difficulty and stress of the work of personnel in basic and auxiliary jobs provide important information. Therefore, the comprehensive study of cadre turnover allows us accurately to determine the scale and relevance of the problem.

Let us consider the features of cadre turnover at tire-industry enterprises.

A declining trend in cadre turnover is characteristic of most enterprises in the subsector. Occasionally, however, peculiar "outbreaks" occur. The study of the sociodemographic parameters of turnover indicated that the situation is influenced essentially by apprentices, the number of whose resignations increased from 22 to 49.6 percent in 4 years. This is the consequence of the low level of organizational and educational work with young people. Mobility is particularly high (23.5 percent) among workers under 19 and in the 20-24-year age group (30.1 percent). Therefore, the cadre turnover problem in the tire-industry is essentially a youth problem. This is also confirmed by assignments of workers who have completed their apprenticeship at such enterprises. Thus, in 1984 cadre turnover among workers with labor seniority of less than 1 year was 38.6 percent; between 1 and 3 years, 18.7 percent; and between 3 and 5 years, 10.5 percent. As to the professional structure of those who quit, they are particularly numerous among workers in basic skills. The reasons for quitting are of interest. First among them are personal, related to change of residence because of marriage or divorce; the subjective assessment of worsened health; and the need to care for parents or sick relatives. In 1984 this group of reasons accounted for 43.7 percent. Let us point out that personal reasons for quitting are a characteristic "psychological concealment" of real reasons. Sociologists have repeatedly realized this during individual talks with resigning workers. The second group of reasons is related to labor conditions (19.5 percent). Noteworthy among them are dissatisfaction with the work or shift schedule, physical difficulty, and dissatisfaction with hygienic and psychological conditions. Let us note that the latter factor has begun to play an increasing role in the "structure" of reasons for resigning: several years ago it was the fifth highest. It then rose to third and is now second. The third group of reasons involves housing (18.4 percent), distance to the enterprise, priority in obtaining housing, etc. It is noteworthy that in the case of young workers the housing problem remains grave for a number of years. Fourth is dissatisfaction with salary (10.1 percent).

In recent years qualitative changes in the reasons for cadre turnover have taken place at some enterprises in the subsector. Thus, an increased number of workers have quit because of labor conditions at the Baku, Yerevan, Kirov, Krasnoyarsk and Sverdlov tire plants and the Bobruyskshina, the Dneproshina, Nizhnekamskshina and Chirkentshina associations; the turnover coefficient increased because of housing problems at the Baku, Barnaul, Voronezh, Krasnoyarsk and Moscow tires plants and the Dneproshina and Chirkentshina associations.

As far as seasonal fluctuations are concerned, the high level of cadre turnover is noted in summer (July) and the lowest in winter (December). Also noteworthy are statistical figures of dismissals for violations of labor discipline, the number of which increased at the Barnaul, Volga, Yerevan, Krasnoyarsk, Moscow and Yaroslavl tire plants and the Dneproshina and Chirkentshina associations. Here the percentage of dismissals for absenteeism averages 7.8 percent. Most frequently dismissed for labor discipline violations are apprentices, which once again emphasizes the unsatisfactory nature of work with young people. Many young men and women are among the violators of labor discipline: 6.4 percent are under 19, 5.8 percent are in the 20-24-year age group and 4.8 percent, in the 25-29-age group. It is

indicative that young workers in basic professions are guilty of absenteeism much more frequently than workers in auxiliary professions. Guided by this circumstance, our laboratory drafted stipulations on a system for the education and adaptation of production workers.

PTU graduates are a main source of cadre reinforcement at tire-industry enterprises. Usually, they are residents of city suburbs or rural areas. As we pointed out, the prestige of our professions has declined. Young people joining tire enterprises are poorly informed of their specific nature. As a result of inadequate organizational and educational work, frequently the professional and sociopsychological adaptation of the novices is painful. In the final account, this is what predetermines the high level of resignations among this worker category. The main reasons for high youth turnover are dissatisfaction with wages, labor conditions and shifts, and absence of prospects for obtaining housing faster. All of this plays an important role in the period during which people get married and have children. Quite difficult problems have been identified also in the vocational-technical training system oriented toward the tire-industry. Actually, the existence of such a system may be mentioned only in conventional terms, for major problems, such as enrollment in vocational-technical schools based on enterprise needs, control over the assignment of students, etc., are ignored. Furthermore, base training schools for tire workers enjoy a low reputation, which leads to lack of enrollment. Problems of increasing the training of worker cadres for tire-industry enterprises are being solved sluggishly, regardless of the demands of the subsector and the reform of vocational-technical schools.

In our study of cadre turnover problems, we developed a method and computed the economic losses caused by worker turnover per tire-industry enterprise and for the entire subsector. The computations indicated that every year a tire enterprise loses on an average: 1. 5,777 rubles from production shortfalls per average statistical resignation; 2. 222 rubles from inefficient expenditures for training worker cadres at the base vocational-technical school and the enterprise; 3. 272 rubles from the inefficient utilization of social consumption funds. Therefore, the cost of resignation of a single worker equals economic losses totaling 6,271 rubles.

The establishment of a sociological service at Dneproshina made it possible to expand the limits of information support in the study of the social processes within the labor collective, of cadre problems above all. The sociologists carefully analyzed the various surveys of cadre turnover at 11 sectorial enterprises, and drafted for purposes of application a new method document: "Declaration-Investigation of the Resigning Worker." One part of the document includes a declaration of resignation and the conclusion of the shop (department) cadre bureau and the chairman of the public commission for the study of cadre turnover, as well as the resolution of the subunit chief. The second part of the document (investigation) supplies an expanded description of the resigning worker. Added to it are the sociodemographic and professional-skill references, various aspects of production organization, presumed job and control questions of a descriptive nature, based on the "likes-dislikes" principle. The first part of the document becomes part of the individual file of the resigning worker. The second goes to the sociological research laboratory for study and processing.

The laboratory sociologists used an integral system for the efficient study and control of cadre turnover. It was based on legal and research documents, such as the regulation on the public cadre bureau of the subunit, the regulation on the public commission which studies and supervises cadre turnover, the order of the association's general director on amending the procedure for resignation, and supplements to the regulation of internal work order and the "Declaration-Investigation of the Resigning worker." The information part of the system is a method for fast study of potential cadre turnover at primary production collectives, a research program titled "Reasons for Potential Worker Cadre Turnover at Tire-Industry Enterprises," a set of programs for the mathematical processing of sociological information with ES-model computers, a monthly report and mathematical processing of the investigation of the resigning worker, a short sociological report on cadre turnover in the association and an annual report on cadre turnover at tire-industry enterprises.

The most important link in the work is the individual talk between the sociologists (or psychologists) and any worker in the association who wishes to resign. In the past 5 years some 7,000 such talks have taken place. They have become an invaluable source of social information and a kind of sociopsychological barometer of cadre turnover for the association as a whole and for each of its structural subunits. The same function is performed by the public shop cadre bureaus and the public commission for the study and control of cadre turnover which, chaired by the deputy general director, reviews resignation requests on a weekly basis.

The activities of the sociological service help the day-to-day control of the cadre turnover process. This is clearly confirmed by indicators of labor collective stabilization. From 1980 to 1984 cadre turnover declined from 11.5 to 9.8 percent, which is the best indicator in this subsector. Thanks to the close consideration of each request for resignation, in 1981 the resignation of 112 workers from the association was prevented; that of 382 was prevented in 1982, 414 in 1983 and 358 in 1984. Even more tangible results could have been achieved had the shop administration and enterprise cadre service applied more persistently and fully sociological recommendations aimed at increasing intraplant worker transfers.

Great attention to collective forms of discussion of cadre problems is paid at Dneproshina. Here monthly conferences with the participation of economic, party, trade union and Komsomol managers from all structural subunits within the association, play an important role. A thorough study is made here of problems of cadre turnover, the condition of labor discipline, the organization of sponsorship and production training of students at the base vocational-technical school, the observance of leave schedules, the work of comrade courts and public cadre bureaus, the disciplinary practices of shop chiefs, the results of sociological studies and the efficiency of the "Good Mood Service." It is noteworthy that such discussions involve displays of pertinent charts, diagrams, plans and tables drafted by sociologists. A joint resolution is adopted at such conferences by the party, trade union and Komsomol committees and the administration, stipulating specific assignments for the structural subunits in their work with cadres. It is here that the best youth tutors are honored and the results of the socialist competition for



reducing cadre turnover, creating stable labor collectives and strengthening labor discipline and law and order, are summed up; the winning shops are presented with the challenge cup and their manager are given a bonus. The main feature of such conferences is that the study of cadre problems included in the report of the deputy general director and the statements by shop chiefs and managers of public organizations are aimed at reaching the base indicator of the level of cadre turnover. Planned reductions in the turnover coefficient are based on the average statistical shop indicator and the general trend of stabilization of the association's collective. A control system has been developed for the implementation of this planned assignment, which includes work methods, such as comprehensive investigations of shop cadre documentation, surprise investigations of the efficiency of attendance records and efficient utilization of working time, sociological and quick surveys, etc.

The "ASU-cadre" system, the study of the investigation of resigning workers in particular, is of great help in the study of cadre processes. The program for processing sociological information with ES-model computers enables us to obtain a table of the frequency breakdown of answers to questions, with 10 possible limitations. Every month the sociologists analyze some 400 tables with such information dealing with the state of cadre processes in 29 subdivisions and for 39 skills. Noteworthy is the experience acquired by sociologists in the association in the study of "hotbeds" or "outbreaks" of cadre worker turnover. Let us consider this in greater detail.

Cadre turnover drastically increased at the inner-tube production shops for mass-produced and large-size tires, reaching more than 30 percent among splicing workers and about 80 percent among valve-installation workers. The overall shop turnover level was nearly twice that of the entire association, which immediately affected the production rhythm.

The results of the sociological investigation and of a medical investigation of the state of the working environment indicated that adverse labor conditions were the main reason for the high turnover in inner-tube shops. Most of the workers in said skills had developed a psychological view that the size of their wages "was inconsistent with labor conditions, i.e., that the former did not compensate for the latter. The recommendations of the sociologists were directed at systematically eliminating manual operations, improving wages and bonuses and hygienic conditions, and developing a favorable sociopsychological climate, which would lead to stable formal and informal production relations. Initially, the specific practical recommendations were discussed at expanded conferences of shop collectives, after which they were submitted to the association's social development council. Although the discussion among production organizers triggered heated arguments, a program for the application of sociological recommendations was adopted, its executors were names and deadlines were set for the implementations of adopted resolutions.

The finishing shop for mass-produced tires was reconstructed in the course of the implementation of the practical recommendations at the inner-tube shop and the delivery of semifinished items to the butt-joining machine at the large-size inner-tube area was mechanized. Organizational and economic problems

were resolved in addition to engineering ones: wages of assembly workers were raised and a cost accounting brigade consisting of workers in basic and auxiliary professions and engineering and technical personnel was organized, which immediately increased the level of interest among all members of the brigade in end work results. The hauling of inner tubes was totally mechanized at the inner-tube shop and a number of other engineering problems were resolved, which improved the working conditions of 110 workers and made it possible to convert a large group of women to a one-shift schedule.

The sociological study of the reasons for cadre turnover at the tire-repair shop covered groups of workers the working conditions and high turnover among which justifiably concerned the administration. The results of the study were discussed at a meeting of the party committee and the social development council. The manual weighing of the sulfur was eliminated on the basis of sociological recommendations, and 14 workers at the extrusion sector converted to day-time work only. After 40 workers at the tire-rebuilding shop were converted to the same schedule, labor productivity in the sector increased 4.5 percent. At the same time, the administration and the shop collective undertook to provide comfortable working and resting conditions. The aesthetic appearance of the equipment in the shop was improved. This was followed by work place certification, the results of which were quite indicative: 100 of the 114 were consistent with modern requirements; 13 were partially certified and only one will be abolished.

Sociopsychological services, such as "Confidence Telephone" and "Good Mood," as well as the practice of working people submitting their suggestions or complaints to managers, play an important role in work with cadres. Between 1980 and 1984 the sociologists received about 1,300 oral and written reports and suggestions. It was noteworthy that more than 64 percent of them were signed. Within that time, thanks to the system for the study and control of personal receptions, the social requirements of the workers in the collective were made entirely clear, which contributed to their satisfaction.

In a 5 year period about 45,000 letters, petitions, complaints and appeals were received, 72.4 percent of which were essentially acted upon. It is indicative that steps were taken within a 10-day period on most of the questions raised (83.4 percent). It is important to note that the attention of production managers to problems affecting the association's workers acts as a catalyst which accelerates the functioning of the social information system. In turn, this is directly related to developing a favorable sociopsychological climate in the collective and to reducing cadre turnover.

One could assume that the experience in the study and practical solution of a wide range of cadre problems at the Dneproshina Association, which was given a high rating (in the journal KOMMUNIST (1) and at the all-union practical conference on problems of the development of sociological research in industrial production, which was held in the summer of 1985 in Dnepropetrovsk, in particular) would have been extensively applied at petroleum-refining and petrochemical industry enterprises, in the tire-manufacturing industry in particular. So far, however, this has not taken place. A number of applied projects, constructive proposals and plant sociologists' recommendations are being ignored. Thus, the suggestion of setting up at subsector enterprises

public commissions for the study and control of cadre turnover, sociopsychological "Good Mood Services," and others have not met with widespread support. We are amazed at the lack of interest by the administration of the Soyuzshina VPO in solving one of the most important problems: the application of recommendations aimed at improving labor hygiene. This applies to suggestions formulated by sociologists and psychologists on the basis of hygiene studies at four tire plants and two associations. Yet it is precisely labor hygiene that is among the main reasons for cadre turnover. In our view, conclusions based on sociological and hygiene studies should become a specific program for economic managements.

At the present time cadre work at industrial enterprises is a combination of disparate plans of a general nature. That is why the question of making basic improvements in planning work with cadres becomes primary and decisive. Comprehensive social programs must be drafted for work with young people, tutors, novices, people living in youth and family hostels, workers of pre-retirement and retirement age groups, etc. A specific program for organizational and educational work must be drafted for each social group of working people. One of the unsolved problems in the activities of cadre and sociological services in the country's enterprises is the lack of a single method document on the procedure for the study of cadre dynamics and turnover. It would be expedient, therefore, to formulate and apply a unified state-wide procedure for the study of methods for hiring, transferring and dismissing workers, which would enable us to keep close track of all labor resource movements. No less important is a general method for determining economic losses caused by cadre turnover.

The practical measure suggested to improve work with cadres may be reduced to the following: above all, we need the methodical development of a comprehensive "Cadre" Target Program, which would cover all sociodemographic and professional groups at enterprises or associations and govern cadre selection and placement, skill upgrading, stabilization of the labor collective lowering turnover, strengthening discipline, training managers and managerial reserves, tutoring and job adaptation of novices, etc. Each part of this program should include specific tasks and topics for current and long-term organizational and research work, forms of educational activity, performers, stages and periods of work, quantitative criteria, control systems and moral and material incentive measures. This task should be resolved on the basis of the experience of the leading scientific institutions in the country and the formulation of a method for drafting plans for the economic and social development of enterprise collectives.

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## DISCUSSIONS

### FULLER USE OF COMMODITY-MONETARY RELATIONS AND THE LAW OF VALUE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 62-66

[Article by Gennadiy Vasilyevich Osipov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, head of USSR Academy of Sciences ISI department. Author of the monographs "Sovremennaya Burzhuaznaya Sotsiologiya; (Kriticheskiy Ocherk)" [Contemporary Bourgeois Sociology; (Critical Essay)] (1964); "Teoriya i Praktika Sotsiologicheskikh Issledovaniy v SSSR" [Theory and Practice of Sociological Research in the USSR] (1979) and others. Author of a number of articles on sociological methodology and history published in our journal]

[Text] The party's programmatic conclusion to the effect that under present conditions the connection between the economic and social development of the country is acquiring a new content is of essential significance in interpreting the problems considered in the course of the discussion. This calls for intensifying the social orientation of the economy and turning it toward the creation of better conditions for the harmonious development of the individual and for strengthening the socialist way of life (2, 4).

Bearing in mind that of late, in addition to the unquestionable progress achieved by our society, there have been some adverse trends and difficulties, the party is calling upon the scientists properly to assess changes in the socioeconomic situation and the need for profound changes in all areas of life (3, p 29).

The conflicting nature of the contemporary stage in the development of public production, characterized by the dissemination of partial automation and a low technical standard of models of automatic and semiautomatic machines used was exposes by us in the course of the all-union study of "Indicators of Social Development in Soviet Society" (the survey covered 35,000 workers, ITR and employees of industrial enterprises in 11 areas of the country. The selection was graduated and, in its final stage, was one-time random). Scientific and technical progress, providing naturally that we discuss its present condition, leads to a significant reduction in jobs requiring high skills (fifth-sixth grade) while, at the same time, reproduces 30 percent of low-skill jobs. Despite the need for quality changes in enterprise technology (in particular in the processing industry and in improving the organization of labor), as a whole the skill structure, i.e., the correlation among jobs requiring simple,

average and complex labor, has stabilized. We also note a slowdown in the process of intellectualization of worker labor.

Adverse trends in the area of the functional, professional-skill division of labor are manifested elsewhere as well. Thus, in that same processing industry, more than 50 percent of highly skilled workers are employed at jobs requiring low skills. A more typical feature of ITR and employees is a formal coincidence between the structures of required and actual level of education. In other words, between 60 and 70 percent of jobs requiring specialized training are held by nonspecialists. Only 30-35 percent of all engineers in this industrial sector are engaged in complex mental work, and an even lesser number (10 percent) are engaged in creative work. Need we point out the tremendous socioeconomic losses caused by the inefficient utilization of the manpower?

We know that in terms of outlays, productivity and social results, complex work is significantly different from simple labor. Consequently, the wages for such work should be higher. This is an objective economic law discovered by K. Marx. In reality, however, the wages, average annual income and housing conditions of workers engaged in complex work are actually equal to the material status of workers performing simple labor. This is a violation of the socialist principle of wages, which plays an important role in the structure of distribution relations (1).

Therefore, not only the economic but the social effect as well must be taken into consideration in the use of new equipment and technology. We must consider not only current and immediate advantages of automation but long-term social consequences as well. For that reason, and in order not to have to make retroactive corrections of errors and blunders in technical and economic policy, we must forecast future results and include in plans for economic and social development indicators which reflect the dynamics of professional-skill changes. Obviously, this is one of the most important tasks in providing sociological support to scientific and technical progress.

Discussions of socioeconomic problems of the economic mechanism are of essential significance. The purpose of such discussions is to anticipate the theoretical and methodological substantiation of the practical steps taken by the party in the area of economic and social policy. Therefore, it would be useful for their participants occasionally to consider some approaches to understanding the most general principles governing the structure, functioning and development of our society which have appeared in economic publications. We must point out that such approaches are based on the proper postulates of the need for a systemic analysis of the socioeconomic system and are based on the Marxist concept of the organic integrity of the dominating production method. Nevertheless, the conclusions reached by some authors are not always unquestionable. This applies primarily to concepts which play a pivotal role. In particular, according to one of them, under socialism (as an organically integral system) commodity-monetary relations are different from "strictly socialist" relations and can only assume "socialist features." More precisely, they are socialist not in terms of content or form but only because of some undetermined "specificity." The author of one such work argues, for example, that it is precisely this "commodity form, the roots of which may be

traced in the features of socialist ownership, that is inherent in direct socialist public production and is its converted form" (5, p 22).

One of the weak points in our discussion was that no serious attempts were made to shed some light in resolving above all this problem, which is closely related to the items under discussion.

V.M. Yakushev negatively assesses the concept of "planned commodity production" as an "eclectic effort to combine different principles, such as planned prices and commodity production" (6, p 57). The critical part of his considerations is based on proper premises. Thus, for example, he justifiably criticizes the views of the supporters of the market regulation of the socialist economy, who exaggerate the role of the economic separation of enterprises. V.M. Yakushev believes that the supporters of strengthening the role of commodity-monetary relations intend to convert state ownership into ownership of individual collectives, and that "total cost accounting is based on exchange value and is essentially a copy of the commercial accounts of a capitalist enterprise" (ibid).

What does the author suggest? In his view, the entire economy should be divided into two basic parts. Regulating the law of value could be "assigned" to the service industry (public catering, automobile services, etc.); the overwhelming majority of enterprises, whose output does not go to private consumption, should be managed "on the basis of the requirements of the law of planned and proportional development" (6, p 58).

Labor incentive at the first group of enterprises is obvious; that of enterprises in the second group should be especially discussed. "As to the second group enterprises, where relations are structured on a noncommodity basis, i.e., where not money but vouchers are issued for labor, those same monetary signs act as vouchers. In order to ensure the high degree of interest in end labor results, such vouchers should be distributed on the basis of the successes achieved by workers and collectives competing against each other. This is the essence of the third approach to the problem of perfecting the economic mechanism on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism" (6, p 59).

Unfortunately, the participants in the discussion paid no particular attention to these aspects. Clearly, a contributing factor to this effect was the type of logic used by the author in his presentation of the material. The idea of dividing the economy into two sectors was used by him as a substantiation for the "third approach;" actually, the latter was formulated as somewhat separated from his arguments and was reduced in fact to problems of providing incentives to the participants in the labor process. Therefore, the careful reader must complete the theoretical structure by turning it upside-down. The main thing here is the suggestion of a radical restructuring the Soviet economy and dividing it into two subdivisions: 1. A sector dominated (albeit under the conditions of governmental restrictions and control) by the law of value and the market; 2. A sector controlled on the basis of the law of planned and proportional development, i.e., totally controlled by the state. It is only after this that the form of competition suggested by the author can be applied, and only in the second sector at that.

Let us now consider another most important element of the model suggested by V.M. Yakushev: a new variant for stimulating participants in the competition. It seems to affect all levels of the production mechanism and can play "the role of a spring which brings into action all specific laws of socialism" (6, p 60). Let us consider the formulation of the essence of this principle: "The meaning of this incentive is the following: society pays a person less (or more) not because he works poorly (well) but because his labor rival works better (worse). Consequently, those who wish to receive more should outstrip their rival" (6, p 59).

What then is the main principle, the motive force of the socialist competition? It is to outstrip one's rival.

Let us point out that this principle has been known, as such, for quite some time, roughly from the time of the appearance of the capitalist production method although, it is true, it was described not as "distribution according to labor on the basis of competition" but much more concisely: "rivalry." Naturally, V.M. Yakushev himself does not identify rivalry with the competition system. However, his considerations make the following question quite legitimate: Can we speak of our specific principles of collectivism, comradely mutual guarantees and mutual aid, exchange of experience, etc., if the labor collectives consist of rivals and enterprises structure their relations on the basis of rivalry, albeit known as a "new form of competition?"

Naturally, we can and must make use of the most advanced achievements of Western science and technology. Furthermore, we must reach the global level of development of production forces, which is precisely the target set by the party documents. However, great caution is necessary in borrowing one component of another from the system of capitalist production relations, the more so if this applies to basic problems. We believe that the enhancement of the human factor must be based on the even greater embodiment of the principles and mechanisms which do not conflict with the nature of socialism but, conversely, enable us to make use of the advantages of the new social system. It is in this area that the efforts of sociologists must be directed.

The position held by V.M. Yakushev is vulnerable in other areas as well. Above all, it is logically conflicting: if a collective were thoroughly to assess all of its reserves and draft a corresponding plan, there would be no competition whatsoever, and he who produces more and better will be known in advance. Should possibilities be concealed the entire concept would lose the novelty which the author tries to find in it. In the course of the discussion, other serious remarks were addressed to its author; a number of opponents quite reasonably questioned the expediency and efficiency of the suggested steps. The author himself admits that "a great deal in his article remains unclear and undeveloped" (6, p 57). For that reason the model suggested by V.M. Yakushev for organizing the competition could hardly be considered the definitive result of a scientific study. Rather, it is a formulation of the problem and an effort to provide a variant for its solution.

This assessment is also supported by the vagueness of the main concepts used in the discussion. As we know, the opponents were classified into "procommodity" and "anticommodity." V.M. Yakushev classified himself with the latter, as it follows from the conceptual apparatus he used. It frequently turns out, however, that the form of presentation of the material conflicts with its content. Let us recall that the public sector servicing private population requirements is to be "farmed-out" to commodity-monetary relations. As we know, the role of this sector is steadily increasing in the national economy. In the future, with the drastic enhancement in the level of automation of production processes (which is by no means always possible in the consumption area), the number of people it employs will increase. Consequently, so will the area covered by cost accounting relations. In our view, the real practice in the development of production contradicts the "anticommodity" concept which is structured mostly on the theoretical extrapolation of desired developments.

The concept that commodity production is internally inherent in socialism entails the acknowledgment of the effect of the law of value in this area and, therefore, the mechanism of controlled supply and demand.

The existence of commodity-monetary relations under socialism is an objective fact which does not require special debates. The essence of the matter lies elsewhere. If such relations have acquired a new, a socialist content, we must find a mechanism for the utilization of the law of value, specifically applicable to socialism. Naturally, this is much more difficult than borrowing ready-made models or suggesting essentially utopian recommendations.

The draft of the new edition of the CPSU program calls for the further development and enhancement of the efficiency of cost accounting and the systematic conversion of enterprises to total cost accounting (3, p 42). Under present-day conditions, this is the only accurate way in solving the problem of commodity-monetary relations, which presumes perfecting the planned, the nationwide foundation of socialist production. If we consider the subject of the discussion in its essence, no participant denies the need for using cost accounting relations. All that matters is to consider the consequences of their partial or improper utilization. Here as well the discussion must apply to the social aspects.

Finally, a few words on the socialist competition. It would be more accurate to consider it a major social phenomenon, which cannot be replaced by an objective system of material incentive. The latter is a more or less strictly regulated system for controlling labor activeness, based on the technical-functional division of labor. Under the conditions of technical and economic production disparities, any effort to pay all workers the same wage, regardless of skill and labor complexity, could bring about negative phenomena and an attempt to replace social with economic equality. The further development of the principles of the socialist competition and the practice of cost accounting relations must be based on the study of the objectively existing situation.



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## EFFICIENT USE OF ECONOMIC LEVERS AND INCENTIVES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 66-72

[Article by Mikhail Vasilyevich Solovyev, candidate of economic sciences, head of sector of problems of the economic mechanism of the reproduction of basic assets, USSR Gosplan Scientific Research Economics Institute. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] We consider proper and timely for the journal to address itself to problems of restructuring the economic mechanism under the conditions of converting the economy to intensive development. By considering the acceleration of scientific and technical progress as the center of its economic strategy, the party puts on the agenda the "further development and enhancement of the efficiency of cost accounting and the systematic conversion of enterprises to total cost accounting with the strengthening of economic levers and reducing the number of indicators set by the superior organizations" (1).

In this connection we can only be amazed by the argument which has developed around V.M. Yakushev's article "Democratic Centralism in National Economic Management." Strange though it may seem, the discussion is about the legitimacy of the existence of commodity-monetary relations under the conditions of the domination of public ownership. The arguments cited by V.M. Yakushev and his supporters, who believe that all shortcomings in the national economy are caused by such relations, allegedly alien to the nature of socialism, was reduced to noting the adverse influence on production (and, consequently, on the satisfaction of social needs) of the value indicators in planning (2, 4-6). It is on the basis of what we believe to be quite superficial conclusions that the suggestion is made "to reduce to naught their (value indicators--author) role as regulators of economic relations, while retaining their fully required accountability and control function" (6, p 73).

Considering that the criticism of this concept by K.A. Ulybin (3), N.V. Vinogradova and A.A. Shatskov (7) is quite well substantiated, we shall not repeat it. Instead, we shall discuss the problem of perfecting the economic mechanism, touched upon by V.M. Yakushev, and which N.V. Vaynonen, A.M. Yeregin and I.D. Lisiyenko (2, 4-6) have tried to develop.

The opponents of commodity-monetary relations claim that they are not against or not entirely against the use of value indicators. They only wish for the latter not to play "a role not inherent in them under socialism." But then, what does "reduced to naught" one function and develop another in a functioning complex system, such as the social economic mechanism? We know that planning is based on the use of interrelated physical and value indicators and balances and that it is on the basis of achieving specific economic results and earned profits that the enterprise sets up economic incentive funds as required by law. Furthermore, incentives to enterprise workers and respective bonuses are based on the results of the activities of shops, sectors and brigades. Finally, economic relations among enterprises are of a clearly manifested commodity-monetary nature and can be nothing else, for the time for simple commodity exchange is long gone. In such a case, can we speak of reducing to naught one function and developing another without major changes in the economic mechanism (see 2, p 60)?

This would be the equivalent to cutting a living organism in half and hoping that the remaining half will function better, for it would be rid of the shortcomings inherent in the other half. The negative consequences of enterprise work based on gross value indicators have long been known. But we also have the almost 2-year positive experience gained in the work of many enterprises under the conditions of the large-scale experiment, according to which their activities are rated on the basis of the implementation of the plan for production marketing, taking into consideration contractual deliveries, improved quality, increased labor productivity, etc. In other words, the rhythmical nature of production and the satisfaction of social needs are improved and the quality of the items and their variety are increased without abandoning value indicators. V.M. Yakushev simply ignores all this, and one of his supporters (A.M. Yeregin) casually mentions that under the conditions of the experiment as well some enterprises are not fulfilling their plans (5, pp 37-38). What is not mentioned is that their activities must be judged on the basis of annual results, at which point their accomplishments become clearer.

A discussion of the legitimacy of commodity-monetary relations under socialism is unnecessary (for some reason, this concept is disputed by V.M. Yakushev and his supporters). Life has confirmed not only the possibility but also the need for such relations in our society. As to the "two regulators" of the socialist economy, i.e., "planning and the law of value" (2, p 53), let us note that this implies not only planning but also the use of the law of planned proportional development. The paradox, however, is that such "regulators" are not part of the nature of socialism, while we have the systematic use of commodity-monetary relations and their specific categories (profits, prices, finances, credit, cost accounting, etc.). The efficiency and accuracy with which they are used are a different matter.

Let us now consider V.M. Yakushev's concept on perfecting the economic mechanism.

Socialist competition is its main feature. How is it organized, according to the author? It turns out, that it is essentially a question of encouraging good work: "Society pays a person less (or more) not because he works poorly

(well) but because his labor rival works better (worse). Consequently, if someone wants to earn more he must outstrip his rival. Such incentive is easy to apply within the limits of the planned wage fund" (2, p 59).

Without belittling the importance of the competition in principle, let us consider the question in its essence: How should the working people within a single collective (but practicing different skills or belonging to different brigades) compete, and how should collectives of different enterprises (but within the same sector) compete? (In the latter case a number of unsolved problems arise, such as different technical standards, availability of cadres, raw materials, fuel, energy, etc.). What type of indicators should be reached and on the basis of what criteria should competition results be assessed? Nor should we forget the social aspect of the labor rivalry: highly skilled workers could outstrip the novice most easily; by working efficiently and without too much trouble they would achieve better results than those who, working under less privileged conditions, would apply all their strength. Who should be declared the winner and who should be paid more?

Now as to the economic aspect of the problem. By reducing the advancement of the economic mechanism to a somewhat unclearly organized competition, V.M. Yakushev thus "eliminates" the difficult problems caused by commodity-monetary relations. According to the author, since under such circumstances the "activities of enterprises are now governed by a single regulator--planning, the interests of the collective and society become organically combined, which makes it possible to grant labor collectives total independence without any risk and that this independence will be used to promote the common objective.... As the result of the general interest in labor results and in perfecting the forms of control and planning, the economic mechanism will become a self-controlling system in which competition will play the role of a spring which will bring into motion all specific laws of socialism" (2, p 60). The author naively assumes that he has solved all contradictions and eliminated all absurdities which arise in the course of the functioning of the economic mechanism based on the concept he criticizes.

The view of V.M. Yakushev and of N.V. Vaynonen, who is one of his active supporters, notwithstanding, a mass of unresolved problems remain, related to the multiple-level organization of the economic mechanism. For the sake of clarity, let us note that the essence of the suggestions he has voiced apply only to the primary economic unit and its labor collective. Not considered are problems of perfecting the management system and its central unit: national economic planning, the forms of production organization and incentive systems, and the "fine structure" of economic ties. The childhood of economic theory, to which V.M. Yakushev and N.V. Vaynonen would like to take us back, when it was believed that a rationalization or simply bringing order in one unit of the economic system (planning, finances, prices, etc.) would become a panacea which would cure all troubles, is gone. Yet once again we are offered a universal medicine: Yakushev-style competition. Any person with philosophical training knows quite well that the improvement of a complex system must be comprehensive. Yet we are simply offered merely the "elimination of elements alien to its (to the economic mechanism--author) noncommodity nature and, by gradually increasing bonuses based on competition results and organizing a control system, the new distribution principle would

become dominant" (ibid). Just like that! To start with, the entire economic mechanism is reduced to a distribution system, after which we "eliminate" from it that which turns out to be "alien," i.e., the system of plan indicators on the level of the national economy. This is considered understandable, for it includes indicators "alien" to socialism, such as the gross national product and national income, and because physical indicators are simply inapplicable. At this point we must also eliminate the material foundation of the indicators--gross and net output of sectors and enterprises. The latter are precisely necessary in planning computations and value balances, without the application and formulation of which national economic planning cannot fulfill its function. We would also have to eliminate financial-credit levers, the rejection of which, something which does not bother V.M. Yakushev in the least, would interrupt the normal reproduction process (more than 60 percent of working capital of industrial and trade enterprises comes from short-term bank loans). Think: we are asked to leave only the distribution system, and even not on its monetary basis, but on the principle of "labor vouchers" (which are distinct from cash for reasons which are totally obscure).

As the result of such "essential" novelties, according to V.M. Yakushev the social factors and incentives for labor would change or, more specifically put, the "moral atmosphere would improve. Figure padding and theft will disappear...and the system of economic relations will become stricter and considerably more exigent toward the workers" (ibid.). Allegedly, it is on this basis that the needs and interests of the people and the structure of social interrelationships will change.

Is this the case? To understand this matter, let us consider V.M. Yakushev's thesis to the effect that within the framework of the conditions he stipulates "the activities of the enterprises will now be controlled by a single regulator--planning." The author prudently refrains from discussing planning itself and the system of plan indicators, obviously feeling that in this case he cannot match ends. Actually, the results of the work of planning authorities and planning-economic services of enterprises is a system of interrelated indicators, which ensures the balancing of economic activities and is then submitted to the performers. It is on the basis of such indicators that enterprises are allocated all types of resources, in accordance with standard balanced planning methods. Yet, here is what V.M. Yakushev says on this occasion: "It (the enterprise collective--author) will be interested in including all of its reserves in the plan, otherwise the planning authorities would be unable to supply it (?) with the necessary work resources and it will be doomed to falling behind..." (ibid.). Therefore, you must not only produce what you know but also make use of all of your reserves!

Indicators are neither good nor bad. They are made bad by improper application, when they are asked to perform extraneous functions such as, for example, when they reflect only quantitative and extensive growth, such as gross and commodity output and, of late, net and standardized-net output. It is on this basis that enterprise activities are assessed and it is their implementation that determines the economic incentive funds. Under such circumstances, the primary units in the national economy are willy-nilly forced to promote gross output, forgetting variety and trying to use more

expensive materials, totally uninterested in labor intensiveness. Value indicators, such as the growth of labor productivity, variety, quality, etc., are no help. The point is that the lack of coordination among criteria in assessing enterprise activities and the orientation toward "gross output," which developed in the course of decades, force managers on all levels to support volume indicators only, for the latter more than compensate for the nonfulfillment of the quality indicators stipulated in the plan.

If we were to abandon the "commodity mechanism" and plan production in terms of physical indicators, as suggested by I.D. Lisiyenko (4) and A.M. Yeregin (5), inevitably new and rather difficult problems would appear. Thus, for example, planning the production of pipes and equipment in terms of tons would lead to metal overexpenditures, increased material intensiveness and reduced quality of output, a slowdown in the pace of scientific and technical progress and, in the final account, reaching the same volume but only in physical terms. This once again confirms that it is essentially not a matter of commodity-monetary relations but of the use of indicators the purpose of which is to achieve gross rather than high end results. It is quite regrettable that N.V. Vaynonen's beliefs are limited to the search for "live examples" and quick-tempered statements, such as it is precisely "value indicators which motivate economic managers to hold back reserves and artificially to increase planned outlays..." (6, p 73). Instead of undertaking the profound study of the existing situation, with a persistence which, in our view, could be better applied elsewhere, he lashes at value indicators, ignoring the fact that under conditions of planning based "on achievements" (regardless of whether the plan indicators are in value or physical terms) and rewards for overfulfilling the plan, the economic managers will always conceal reserves and try to promote unstressed plans for their enterprises.

We consider the solution to be not the elimination of value indicators but the reorientation of the economic mechanism toward achieving high end results in which not only the individual worker but the entire labor collective would be interested. Such reorientation is based on perfecting the system of plan indicators and forms of organization of the production process, starting with the application of the brigade contracting method and ending with the establishment of agencies which would control the various groups of sectors. The important task is to make the people interested in achieving high end results. Only in that case can the coordination between the interests of the individual and the needs of society become a real, a tangible matter.

Their system of plan indicators should direct the enterprises and associations toward the full and comprehensive satisfaction of the needs of society (with minimal outlays), including the needs of industry and of the individual. To this effect the enterprises must plan on a centralized basis commodity procurements within a stipulated variety, which should be based on the orders placed by consumers and the volume of profits. It would be also expedient to establish stable standards, such as wages per ruble of output, withholdings for the economic incentive fund and distribution of profits between the enterprise and the budget.

However, in order to avoid a distortion favoring the interests of the individual enterprise and preserve the priority of the national economic

approach, which is the only one on the basis of which long-term social problems can be resolved, in our view, the following steps should be taken: on the level of the country's social and economic development, we must strictly support the national economic interest, the indirect manifestation of which is found in the combined value indicators--the gross social product, the national income (optimal structure), and the gross industrial, agricultural and other output. Since the social needs are satisfied with consumer values, on the enterprise level we should give priority to physical indicators based, however, on consolidated summed up indicators.

The following question may arise: Would the planning principle be weakened if some indicators set on a centralized basis (growth of labor productivity, wage fund, use of new equipment, etc.) are eliminated? We believe that it would be more accurate to use them for accountability purposes.

Let us reemphasize that strengthening the planned principle and developing the economic autonomy of enterprises, while increasing responsibility for the results of their activities, are two sides of the same coin. Once the planning bodies have drafted the type of balanced plan in which the summing up indicators take into consideration national economic priorities and stipulate progressive changes in the economy, the only two indicators formulated on a centralized basis would ensure, first, the proportionality of the plan and, second, the initiative of enterprises. In that case, the labor collective will try to fulfill the plan with minimal resource outlays (although the plan has already stipulated such outlays on the basis of progressive norms). All savings (or some of them) will remain at the disposal of the enterprise and, on the basis of predetermined standards, distributed among the economic incentive funds. This will drastically increase the role of the labor collective and the planning and economic services, whose activities will no longer be reduced to computations but which will formulate a strategy for achieving end results.

No one can deny that a considerable reduction in the number of indicators set on a centralized basis would increase the autonomy of enterprises and the responsibility of collectives for the results of their work and enhance the role of intraplant planning. This will create the technical and organizational prerequisites for improving management style and methods in terms of strengthening the role of collective work and greater democracy. To a certain extent, all of this will enhance the prestige of the USSR Law on Labor Collectives. We believe that this will also eliminate the need to overfulfill the "gross output" plan (with the exception of items which directly determine the living standard of the people and export commodities, based on global market circumstances). The plan of procurements based on contracts would be impossible to overfulfill. All that would be required would be its strict implementation. At the same time, nothing would hinder the overfulfillment of the plan in terms of quality indicators, such as the growth of labor productivity (while releasing some workers), reducing material and energy consumption and lowering production costs (naturally, not to the detriment of quality).

Such reorganization is aimed against planning "the wasting the people's property" (2, p 56), for it would encourage the enterprises to meet social

needs, i.e., to produce consumer values which are truly needed by society. Under circumstances in which the price per unit of output is known in advance and is set either by the state or directly by the enterprise itself, based on the lowered cost per unit capacity or any other useful effect, the profit will express the true result of the economic management of the primary economic units even in the case of absolute price increases.

It is precisely here that socialist competition is needed, but not in the amorphous variety promoted by V.M. Yakushev but aimed at achieving high end national economic results. Let us emphasize that this will be a competition which does not replace the economic mechanism but is organically blended with it. Such competition would ensure the necessary production quality, rhythmical output and a lowering of production costs which, with a fixed price would increase profits and, consequently, economic incentive funds, with all entailing consequences. All that is needed is for bonuses based on competition results of those who work well to be generous and the assessment of poorly working collectives and individual workers directly to have a direct influence on their earnings.

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## APPLIED RESEARCH

### MUSCOVITES' NONWORKING TIME: TYPOLOGY AND DIFFERENTIATION

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[Text] Solving topical social problems is not only the objective but also the prerequisite for the dynamic and efficient functioning of the economy under socialism. Production intensification is inconceivable without the mobilization of social reserves. The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000" call for "strengthening the social orientation in the development of the economy and its trend toward providing better conditions for the harmonious development of the individual and for strengthening the socialist way of life" (1). Not least among these conditions is the efficient utilization of the overall time budget of the population.

Methods for the study of the typology and differentiation of the time budget. The study of the time budget means, above all, the study of the mechanisms which determine the choice of a type of occupation during nonworking time. The researcher dealing with this problem traditionally uses the indicators of average outlays for various types of activities which account for the daily or weekly life cycle. Such average indicators may be computed in terms of the entire population as well as within the framework of the individual professional, demographic and territorial groups. In this case, the logic on

which the study is based in the following: a given condition (or two or three) from a selected total is used to classify people into groups; subsequently, values of indicators of the extent of their occupation are assigned to such groups. In other words, by varying one or several conditions, the researcher tries to explain the reasons for differences in the nature of time utilization.

This type of approach to the study of the time budget does not require complex computations. It is quite simple, which is its unquestionable merit. Its shortcomings include a serious impoverishment of the features marking complex socioeconomic processes, for the structure and composition of the time budget develop under the influence of not a single but several simultaneously operating circumstances and factors. The more determinants of time utilization are considered, the closer we come to understanding the real circumstances governing the people's socioeconomic behavior.

As has already been noted in publications, "In all units of the population consumption mechanism, two elements rest on the surface of phenomena and can be specifically measured: conditions governing activities (determinants) and the people's behavior" (3) in the consumption area and in time expenditures. Behavior can be considered a multidimensional function of the multifactorial argument (activity condition). This concept of the mechanism which shapes the way of life necessarily requires the use of a multidimensional statistical analysis. Two basic tasks develop here. The first is a typological comparison among conditions governing activities, so that it may be possible from the general characteristics of the "nutritive environment" to convert to the specific time budget indicators and the study the influence of the set of conditions on the differentiation of the way of life. The second task is formulated with the help of the opposite method: initially we single out the natural multidimensional types of time use, which are subsequently "projected" in the space of the determinant characteristics. In this case we study the differentiating force of the individual elements within the set of circumstances and their "resolving ability."

Both problems were resolved in the study of the time budget of the population in the capital (the research was carried out by the USSR Gosplan NIEI and the Institute of Economic Problems of the Comprehensive Development of Moscow's National Economy). The time budgets of the working people in the city, obtained as a result of the study conducted by the USSR Central Statistical Administration in 1980, were used as the information base for our study. The methodical characteristics of the latter imposed some limits to the representative nature of the data and the possibilities of their utilization and interpretation. Let us particularly stipulate that all primary documents were "related" by us to the places of residence of the families we studied in the various parts of the capital.

The cluster analysis system was used in the elaboration of the typology of time-utilization and specific time-spending (3). Two groups of factors may be singled out among the conditions governing the spending of leisure time: sociodemographic characteristics, which determine the role in the family, stages in the life cycle, the cultural standard and the conditions governing the consumption of goods and services by place of residence (indicators of

development of the service industry, transportation accessibility to the center, and to places of work, training or recreation). On the surface, these two groups of conditions appear unrelated; plotted on the map of Moscow, they offer a variegated picture of the social morphology of a big city; their combination, however, creates an important comprehensive determinant of the specific territorial differentiations in the urban way of life.

Territorial differentiation of the time budget. Characteristic of the modern man is a selective attitude toward the urban space and its use. The selection criteria become more complex with the growth of requirements, education and culture. However broad the spatial boundaries of the cycles of the daily or weekly activities of the urban residents may be, the place where they live--the territorial focus of daily activities--is of determining importance in their determination.

The conditions provided to the population at their specific residential areas may be described with a full set of parameters. They include the indicators of the development of trade, consumer and cultural services, availability of children's preschool institutions, transportation and territorial accessibility to areas of work and study, to the center and to recreation areas, the ecological situation, and many others. The development of these living conditions (let us call them territorial) means not only a territorial-temporal accessibility of such benefits but also determines, to a considerable extent, the features of the organization of the life and leisure time in the family. Increased transportation time, for example, reduces possibilities of engaging in other types of activities. In precisely the same manner the inadequate development of the commercial consumer services network, and the poor organization and reduced variety of services provided by such institutions influence the way of life. In a big city such as Moscow, this could have rather significant consequences.

TABLE 1. CORRELATION BETWEEN TIME OUTLAYS FOR SOME TYPES OF NONPRODUCTION ACTIVITIES BY MOSCOW WORKING PEOPLE, PERCENT\*

Type of Activity	Type of Rayon			
	Work Day	III	II	Day Off
	II	III	II	III
Commuting to Work	157	198	-	-
Household Chores	80	85	108	107
Work with Children	124	133	228	376
Shopping	82	78	136	138
Including Waiting in Line	74	70	107	127
Services	76	153	76	129
Leisure Time	96	74	85	85
Satisfaction Physiological Needs (Food, Sleep, Personal Care)	100	96	100	94

\*Computation based on the type of rayon per working person during work and off days. Time outlays of the population of first-type rayons was taken as 100 percent.

The conditions under which the nonworking time of the population is used are taken as a starting point in the study of differences in its utilization. The statistical yearbook "Moscow in Figures," results of population censuses, and materials of the rayon planning commissions made it possible to draw up a set of 20 indicators characterizing these conditions. On the basis of computer computations, using the cluster analysis algorithms, the Moscow rayons were divided into three types (clusters), distinguished by the extent of development of services and type of demographic situation.

The first type, which can be conventionally described as central, includes the majority of the old and developed rayons with a high level of development of the service industry, which here performs not only city-wide but also partially, all-union functions in providing a number of services. Typical of this center is the high number of elderly people and a low percentage of young ones, small families and relatively dense communal housing.

The second type consists of rayons within the so-called old periphery, in which mass housing construction has been essentially completed and a certain service infrastructure has already been established.

The third type consists of rayons of recent mass residential construction. Characteristic here is the poor development of services and major difficulties in terms of transport facilities to the main points of attraction in the city.

This breakdown reflects the consecutive stages in the city's socioeconomic and demographic development. The living conditions typical of these stages greatly determine the nature of the utilization of the leisure time (see Table 1). The table shows that most significant during workdays are type differences of the length of daily commuting. The time spent in commuting by the population of third-type rayons is almost twice that of the population in second-type rayons and greater than the time spent by the population of the center by a factor of 1.5. This is related not only to the distance between many housing areas and jobs but also the insufficient development of subway and fast transportation, compared with the center.

Matters of time spent in household chores are somewhat different. The population in the center uses 20 percent more time on such work compared with the population of second-type rayons. The reasons for this are clear: housing in the center, where many of the buildings are old, and communal living is high, is substantially less equipped with household conveniences.

The time spent with children is determined by two interrelated factors: the number of places in children's preschool institutions and the percentage of children in the population. Both factors directly influence the amount of time spent in work with children. Thus, the population in the peripheral areas spend 24 percent more time in child care, and that in the areas of the "new periphery" spent 33 percent more time than the population of the center.

What we, researchers, found unexpected was the breakdown of the time spent in shopping and obtaining services in the various city rayons. The disparities are essentially based on the length of waiting in line and since commercial and service establishments in the center are used not by the permanent

residents only, the result is that they spend more time waiting in line than other Muscovites. This situation proves that the insufficient level of the development of the commercial network and services in the new areas triggers additional migration to the center of the city for satisfying daily needs. The large general stores and numerous specialized stores located here, not far from each other, become the focal point of attraction for the population of the suburbs and tourists. Furthermore, many commuter lines pass through the center, for which reason the local stores are frequently "on the way."

The time spent in obtaining services is a rather indicative feature in the development of the network of service establishments. As a rule, the longer time spent in such activities is due either to waiting in line or the distance of service enterprises from the home. The result is an equalization of differences in the time budget, for the overall amount of its inefficient outlays turns out approximately equal among residents of the first- and second-type rayons. The population in the third-type rayons find themselves in the most disadvantaged situation in terms of the amount of leisure time: the difference here is approximately 1.5 hours per family of two working members.

The structure of time use in days off is strongly influenced by the use of leisure time during workdays. The redistribution of time takes place not only among sociodemographic groups (men and women and working and nonworking family members), but also on the basis of days of the week. The more leisure time is left after work during the week, the fewer household chores are left for the free days. In other words, the length of household chores during days off is inversely proportional to the amount of time spent for such purposes during workdays. Whereas during workdays the population in the center spend more time on household chores compared to the population in the peripheral areas, the opposite prevails during days off. The Muscovites living in the center use the time saved from commuting to their jobs on household chores, which the population of the "periphery" leaves for the days off. This applies to the time used for shopping.

The time spent with children during days off has little relation to the accessibility of children's preschool institutions. The main factor here in shaping time outlays is the average number of children per family. The share of children in the population of the center is much lower, by nearly 30 percent, compared with the other parts of the city. It is particularly this that determines the difference in the time spent on child care.

The rayons have been classified according to the time spent in obtaining services. Although this is related to the number of service facilities, the primacy of the center in this respect offers no particular advantages to its population, for the local service facilities are used by the entire city and even by people from out of town.

The occupations we listed determine the limits of the available free time. In this sense, its volume and structure of utilization characterize the efficient organization of daily life and the development of the infrastructure not only of the leisure time but of household chores as well. Estimates indicate that during days off the population of the center has approximately 15 percent more

leisure time than that in a suburban rayon. In terms of hours and minutes, the difference is about 1.2 hours daily.

In terms of the weekly time budget, differences among rayons account for 3 hours of additional leisure time per week per worker. This means that a working resident of the center has an additional 6 hours of leisure time as the result of territorial factors in the organization of his life and recreation, which can be considered a kind of social benefit. Differences in living conditions determined by the rayons create poorly controlled processes of informal socioeconomic behavior, above all in terms of apartment switching from worse to better rayons, with compensations for better quality.

The typology of the urban environment and the related differences in the way of life indicate the need for a differentiated approach to the development of the various parts of the city. It may pay to develop separate service systems for the "peripheral" rayons or else establish rental differentials depending on the quality of the residential district. The Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services Between 1986 and the Year 2000 calls for ensuring the better satisfaction of population needs for various services, reducing the amount of time spent in household chores and facilitating such work, and increasing the amount of leisure time enjoyed by the Soviet people. The amount of consumer services will be increased by no less than 40 percent by 1990 and by a factor of 2.4-2.5 by the year 2000 (2).

Classification of time use: basic factors. Studies in the area of the multidimensional classification of time spending, although experimental in nature, convincingly proved the efficiency of such methods in the study of the time budget structure. We developed four typological groups: two each for working men and women (free and work days). The type of day determines the basically different nature of time use manifested not only in absolute outlays but in structural correlations as well; the sex is as indicator of the social roles played during nonworking time. Such a differentiated approach enables us to compute the time budgets on a differentiated basis in accordance with leading factors.

The specific nature of the method and organization of the studies of the time budget, conducted by the TsSU, led us to abandon the typology of primary occupation and use consolidated types of activities carried out during nonworking time. The concept of "household chores" includes cooking, taking care of premises and clothing and other types of household work. Care for the children and their education were combined within a single type of activity described as "occupation with children." Shopping and consumer services were taken out of household chores and considered separately. Leisure time occupations were based on the classification suggested in the monograph "Population Time Budget" (4). Time spent in cultural occupations included reading, visits to places of entertainment and amateur and creative hobbies. Passive recreation consisted of viewing television and listening to the radio, entertaining guests or being entertained, discussions in the street, at home or on the telephone, and simple rest. Active recreation involved taking walks, engaging in physical culture and sports and out-of-town traveling.

Let us consider the results of the breakdown of the time budget, taking as an example the use of active nonworking time by women during weekdays and holidays (Table 2).

Table 2. Structure of Active Nonworking Time of Women During Weekdays, %

Type of Activity	Types and Subtypes of Time Utilization											Selection Average
	I			II			III		IV	V	VI	
	I-A	I-B	I-C	2-A	2-B	2-C	3-A	3-B				
Commuting to Job	27	24	15	12	18	14	24	8	42	17	18	19
Training	1	2	2	1	2	1	3	2	2	58	2	5
Household Chores	22	24	25	60	26	23	26	33	25	8	37	28
Occupation with												
Children	1	1	2	1	1	2	21	31	1	1	4	6
Shopping	11	10	13	10	39	9	10	13	10	3	11	12
Consumer Services	-	-	1	1	1	20	-	-	-	1	1	2
Culture	4	4	31	2	3	4	2	1	3	5	3	7
Passive	34	20	11	14	10	18	12	8	12	7	21	18
Recreation												
Active	-	15	1	-	1	2	1	4	1	1	3	4
Recreation												
Volume, Type, %	8.7	5.8	10.5	7.1	7.4	6.2	7.8	5.2	5.1	5.6	18.4	

The first type of time utilization is distinguished by a clearly manifested orientation toward recreation, spending some 40 percent of the nonworking time in cultural and recreational pursuits, which is substantially above average. This applies to 25 percent of working women. However, substantial differences may be noted within the groups. Typical of subtype A is passive recreation; passive recreation also predominates in subtype B and a great deal of time here is spent in walking, physical culture and sports. Type C is distinguished by active cultural pursuits. Let us note that the reduced share of passive recreation is directly proportional to the length of commuting time. This fact leads to the formulation of the following hypothesis: long commuting not only limits leisure time but triggers so-called "transportation fatigue," and affects the leisure-time structure.

Naturally, this way of life can be described as "recreational" only relatively, essentially by comparing it with other types of time use. Intratype differences in time use are related to the demographic features of the people of the specific subtypes. Subtypes A and B consisted essentially of women aged 40 to 50 or older, with adult children living separately. This is confirmed by data on the structure of families and the presence of minor children. In terms of the level of education, subtype A consists of women with an education ranging from primary to higher, in which secondary and incomplete secondary education predominates, accounting for 78 percent. The combination of these circumstances explains the insignificant orientation toward consumption of cultural goods and the active use of leisure time. Subtype C consists not only of younger women (average age 35) but also better educated ones (more than 70 percent with primary or secondary training). Such demographic features and the predominance of women without minor children explains the more active consumption of cultural goods in this group.

The second type of way of life, which accounts for 20.7 percent of women, is distinguished by a clearly expressed household concern. Between one-half and two-thirds of the nonworking time of the members of this group is spent on household or related chores--shopping and consumer services. The second type as well is heterogeneous and breaks down into three subtypes. Household chores, which absorb 60 percent of the total nonworking time (twice as high as the indicator based on the selective total) significantly predominates in subtype II-A. Subtype II-B is a way of life in which the main occupation during nonworking time is shopping. It accounts for 31 percent of the total nonworking time, or nearly 3 hours daily. Subtype II-C reflects the use of time in the service area. Since the job, commuting and the need for the urgent performance of a large number of household chores leave practically no time for going to service shops during the week, such work is usually done during days off. Looking for services during weekdays accounts for 20 percent of nonworking time.

The second type consists essentially of women aged 40 or older. Most of them are with secondary or incomplete secondary training, with adult children living separately. A certain exception is found in subtype II-B, where 36 percent are young women under 30 and the percentage of people with higher and secondary specialized training is above the selection average.

Characteristic of 13 percent of the nonworking time structure of women is the predominance of activities involving children. This applies essentially to young women (average age 31-33) with minor children. In this third type the subtype III-A consisted of women with children of preschool age, in which the time spent both with the children and in household chores related to caring for them (cooking, cleaning, washing, etc.) was higher. Subtype III-B reflects the time spent by women with children of primarily school age.

The fourth type of the way of life, which accounts for 5.1 percent of women workers, is an example of the way the distance between the house and the job exerts a pressure on the entire time budget. Outlays for commuting account for 42 percent of the entire amount of nonworking time within this group. All other occupations are reduced to a minimum. Such a way of life can be led by single women or married women without minor children. The educational level of this group is high: two-thirds of the women have higher or secondary specialized training. It is precisely this circumstance that develops a stable orientation toward a specific nature of employment near the home, a problem which turns out not to be all that simple.

The fifth type is that of women students attending night school. The leading place in the structure of the nonworking time in this group (58 percent of the total) goes to homework, reading specialized publications and self-education.

In the sixth type, the use of nonworking time is not related to a single orientation toward a specific type of activities. It is "diffused" and "diluted." The breakdown of time by occupation among the members of this type is the closest to the selection average. It is only the percentage of time spent in household chores that substantially deviates from the median: 37 instead of 28 percent. This is the largest type, accounting for 18.1 percent of all surveyed women.



The typology of nonworking time during days off as well provides six basic types of way of life with a similar interpretation. The first type of organization of the free day is characteristic of 42 percent of women workers and is the most frequently encountered. It could be described as the household type: 47 to 62 percent of the active time is used for household chores and shopping. Virtually no time is allocated for work with children or passive recreation.

The leading role in the second type is work with children and household chores, which absorb, respectively, 31 and 36 percent of the entire amount of active time. Secondary importance is assigned to culture and recreation: time outlays for them are below the median.

The third type of time utilization, noted in 6.4 percent of the women, is distinguished by a significant predominance of recreational activities within the structure of the active time during free days. The members of this type dedicate nearly 90 percent of the entire time to recreation. However, the leading role here (67 percent of the 90) is played by the passive types of recreation: viewing television, visiting, conversations at home and by telephone, and idle rest.

In the fourth type, the way time is spent during the day off is quite similar to the first type, with the sole difference that in this case the center of gravity shifts to shopping; 30 percent of the time thus spent leads to a description of the organization of nonworking time as "commercial;" 9.0 percent of women spend their days off in this manner.

The fifth type, which is characteristic of 14.4 percent of those surveyed, could be considered as "intellectual-recreational." This group is distinguished by a predominantly cultural time use (26 percent of the time as compared with 13 percent for the entire selection) and active recreation.

The sixth type of utilization of the day off is "transitional" from household to relaxation. It is encountered quite rarely, in one case out of 20.

Noteworthy in comparing the typology of the time breakdown during working and nonworking days is the redistribution of time among the basic types. For example, the so-called domestic type applies to about 21 percent of the women during working days and 42 percent during days off.

The nonproduction activities of the men is also subdivided into six types of time utilization, although they are totally different. Whereas household chores or occupations one way or another related to serving the family predominate in the structure of the way of life of working women, the main "concern" of the men after work is recreation in one form or another. Thus, among women time spent on specifically household chores is virtually never below 22 percent of the total nonworking time, whereas even men who most actively participate in such chores (only 7.7 percent among them) allocate no more than 20 percent of their nonworking time to such purposes. The others do not exceed the 10 percent level. In the realm of recreation, however, the situation is entirely different: 27.6 percent of the men allocate approximately three-quarters of the nonworking time to relaxation and

entertainment. Bearing in mind that 15 to 18 percent of the time is spent by the members of this recreation group in commuting, they have less than 10 percent of the active nonworking time for all other occupations.

The value of a multidimensional typology is not limited to its possible use as an instrument in the study of differentiations within the urban way of life. It could have a highly practical use such as, for example, in structuring efficient time budgets, which are needed in order scientifically to substantiate the standards for the development of urban services. One of the types could be taken as a model of efficient time utilization. In the study of the consumption typology (or of needs), the authors of the monograph we mentioned write, we could single out an insignificant percentage but substantially progressive type of consumers who could be considered as the "advance system," whose significance will become dominant in the future in the overall consumption structure of the mass of consumers (3, p 23).

The progressive type of time spending could be refined and corrected on the basis of long-term trends of the time budget of the Muscovites, territorial differentiations and forecasts of the demographic development of the city's population. Such an approach would enable us to structure efficient time budgets, differentiated by population group and separately for working and nonworking days.

Such are some of the results of the study of the budget of the nonworking time of Muscovites. In our view, the typological analysis clearly indicates the complexity of social processes developing in the city, proving that the scientific management of urban development is impossible without an attentive attitude toward the mechanism which shapes the population's way of life.

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FACTS, COMMENTS, NOTES  
(FROM THE SOCIOLOGIST'S DESK)

COST OF LEAVING ONE'S JOB

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 100-102

[Article by Vladimir Ivanovich Pyanov, associate at the long-term planning laboratory, Giprotymenneftegaz. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] Reducing cadre turnover is one of the most important trends in improving the utilization of labor resources, strengthening discipline and applying proper order in production. However, in this case an essential aspect is frequently ignored: the mechanism itself of hiring and dismissing workers needs to be perfected. We believe that this problem is particularly topical in areas of new industrial development, Tyumen Oblast in particular. Thus, despite a lesser cadre shortage, the level of resignations at the Tyumengazprom All-Union Production Association, remains quite high (this article is based on the study of the personnel department of the Tyumengazprom VPO, including 2,000 individual files). A total of 59.2 percent of the average number of workers resigned in 1975; corresponding figures were 48.7 percent, 44.4 percent, 42.3 percent and 44.7 percent for the 1981-1984 period. In some 48 percent of such resignations the worker kept his benefits (transfer, completion of the labor contract, and other legitimate reasons); 2.3 percent were related to enrolling in school, army service, etc. The remaining (mainly voluntary) entailed loss of benefits.

How does the problem present itself from the viewpoint of the manager? Naturally, he is interested in retaining his people. A basic administrative way of limiting cadre turnover is the rule of giving a 2-month notice. Practical experience indicates that this is practiced mainly in resignation cases, and never in the completion of the contract, retirement, etc. In rare cases this rule is applied in transfers (no more than 10 percent of all cases, time determined by mutual consent and usually "in favor" of the worker). Furthermore, the 2-month notice is given by no more than 25 percent of resigning workers. As a whole for the association, such individuals do not exceed 15 percent of the total; within that period of time no more than 3 percent changed their minds, which accounts for 0.5 percent of all workers who quit. Briefly stated, the effort to reduce the level of cadre turnover with the help of this measure has not yielded tangible results so far.

Naturally, the administration uses other methods as well. In particular, it tries to restrict quitting without loss of benefits (this applies, above all,

to transfers). This view is understandable, for in addition to losing a worker the manager is supplying cadres to other organizations.

The obstacles created by the management force the person to find other ways of leaving without the loss of "earned" benefits: resignation after fulfilling the labor contract, child care, personnel reduction and some other reasons stipulated by the law. For example, quitting for the first of these reasons accounted for 3.0 percent in 1975-1977, 8.8 percent in 1978-1980 and 13.3 percent in 1980-1984. Frequently transfer within the enterprise is used as well: in this case permission is granted much more easily. In a period of 10 years 40.6 percent of workers and employees transferred to other organizations. Briefly, restraining resignations with the help of transfers only postpones the outcome without substantially lowering cadre turnover, for the reasons for quitting remain and are related, above all, to dissatisfaction with working and living conditions. This is eloquently confirmed by the following facts: Tyumentransgaz and Surguttransgaz operate under virtually identical production and natural-climatic conditions. Working and living conditions at the former, however, are substantially better organized and, correspondingly, in the past 3 years the number of resignations at the Tyumen organization were lower by one-half compared to Surgut, and by a factor of 13.3 for reason of "completing the term of the labor contract." The problem is aggravated by the fact that the significance of a turnover factor, such as availability of housing is declining. In a 10-year period, for example, the number of people who left Tyumengazprom for this reason declined from 25.9 to 4.7 percent, i.e., by a factor of almost 5.5.

As we already pointed out, the administration is not interested in transferring the worker to another enterprise. However, in as much as this would take place anyway, this type of dismissal is, in a certain respect, suitable to the management. The point is that in assessing the work of the organization, the level of cadre turnover is taken into consideration as well. The corresponding accountability indicator includes people who have resigned plus those expelled for labor discipline violations. A transfer which takes place basically on the initiative of the worker is not included in this indicator (nor are some other types, such as resigning after the completion of the term of the contract, or transfer within the association). In other words, the possibility of having a low turnover indicator exists without having to lower the number of departures.

In recent years a number of decisions have increased the responsibility of enterprise managers for the state of cadre turnover. However, the situation we noted above greatly lowers their efficiency. Thus, at the Tyumengazprom Association, dismissals based on transfers to other organizations increased from 15.3 percent in 1983 to 23.6 percent in 1984. Correspondingly, the percentage of workers who quit declined by 6.6 percent. As a result, despite a 2.4 percent actual increase in the number of departing workers, the level of the accountability turnover indicator dropped by 1.4 percent.

It is obvious that this indicator is imperfect. On the one hand, it does not provide an accurate picture of dismissals. On the other, it poorly guides the administration in the efforts to improve socioeconomic working and living conditions. In our view, this indicator must include all forms of departures which could be influenced by the enterprise. This would stimulate the

administration to struggle not for percentages but for a real reduction in cadre turnover and eliminating the factors which create it (however, this should not include departures related to training, army service, etc. As we pointed out, the percentage of people who leave the enterprise for such reasons is small and quite stable).

As to transfers, they must be used more extensively. Naturally, this will require of the administrative personnel more thorough work with cadres. It is also necessary to plug all loopholes which enable the lovers of easy living to find themselves "cozy places." As a whole, this form has a number of positive aspects. It benefits the worker, not only because he retains his benefits but also enables him to choose his job more extensively and for more valid reasons. Incidentally, after weighing all circumstances, a person may eventually decide to remain in the old enterprise. To a certain extent, a resignation complicates and, one could say, dramatizes the situation involved in choosing a new job. Briefly, a transfer contributes to cadre stabilization. It also makes it possible to take more completely into consideration production requirements. Thus, in resignations, profession changes are half as frequent as in the case of transfers: 20.8 percent as against 11.0 percent. In the latter case, twice more frequently than in the first the worker gains a higher position in the new job and changes his profession less frequently by a factor of 3.2.

The method under consideration yields significant socioeconomic results. We studied 780 transfer and 4,297 resignations (between 1965 and 1984). In transfers, the interruption between leaving one job and starting another averaged 5 days as against 28 days in cases of resignation. On the scale of the association, this equaled a loss of 136,080 man/days in 1983 and 127,285 in 1984 (based on a 5-day work week). In other words, the association was short of 523 people in 1983 and 488 in 1984. Correspondingly, production shortfalls totaled 5,109,000 rubles in 1983 and 4,777,000 rubles in 1984.

Finally, according to our estimates, settling one person under conditions of the Extreme North costs the enterprise 25,000 rubles. Including the worker's family, the amount doubles or triples. Consequently, a temporarily unemployed person considerably increases the cost of the social infrastructure.

Taking into consideration that a similar picture prevails at other enterprises in the area, the conclusion is that the systematic development of transfers enables us to make more efficient use of the manpower.

Naturally, in order to determine the optimal scale and limits of application of the various forms of transfer to a new job, thorough and accurate information on the reasons for dismissals and of the demands of the people concerning working and labor conditions is necessary. In this case the sociologists have the final say.

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#### THOUGHTS OF BRIDES AND GROOMS ON FUTURE FAMILY LIFE

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[Article by David Elyevich Nemirovskiy, house-surgeon Chernovtsy Oblast Psychoneurological Hospital. Author of the article "On the Attitude of Young People Toward Premarital Sex Live" published in our journal (No 1, 1982)]

[Text] Sociologists who study family life are virtually unanimous in their view that sociomoral concepts of the individual concerning marriage and future family life substantially influence the nature of the marriage (see, for example, 1; 2, pp 26-27). Identical or similar views on the family lowers the time of adaptation of the spouses to each other and is one of the important prerequisites for the social efficiency of the family. Nevertheless, the expectations of young people "on the threshold of marriage," at the point where such expectations become practical requirements, have been insufficiently studied (1, p 48). This article describes some results of surveys of grooms and brides conducted by us during the premarital psychohygienic consultations (about 2,000 people). Also included are data of the study of 293 coeds at Chernovtsy State University, conducted by the personnel of the oblast health education house, with the participation of the author of this article.

The study indicated that before getting married the need for psychological comfort ("an attentive husband," a "concerned wife") is given priority. The view that "an attentive husband" is one of the main prerequisites for family happiness was expressed by nearly two-thirds of those surveyed, and that of "concerned wife" by more than one-half (here and subsequently the data pertain to the survey of 60 grooms and 58 brides, primarily people with secondary specialized or higher training, and university students under 30). Second were "the husband must be a good father" (more than one-third) and "the wife must be a good mother" (answers given by one-half of the surveyed men and more than one-third of surveyed women). We may assume that this view is held above all by those who consider that the main purpose of a family is to have children, or else where a child is expected in the immediate future. Third and fourth places were assigned by more than two-thirds of the respondents to "the wife must be a good housewife" and an "attractive woman," and "the man must be a real man," and a "good manager."

The orientation toward values such as "attentive husband" ("concerned wife") and "good father" ("good mother") is, in this case, unquestionably determined above all by the high educational standard and general culture of those surveyed. Quite typical of people with such qualities is the concept of deep reciprocal understanding and an equal style of family behavior. Actually, it is not excluded that said orientations are related to the romantic phase of premarital love.

The nature of relations among marital partners is largely determined by the primacy concept. Differences in this case are one of the most conflict-triggering factors. According to available data (the following questions were asked during the confidential private discussion with the young people about to be married: "Who, in your opinion, will be the head of the family?" "What made you reach this conclusion?" "What are the duties of the head of the family?" "How will marital decisions be made?" The breakdown of the 1,779 individuals surveyed was the following: men, 47.7 percent; women, 52.3 percent; VUZ students and individuals with higher education, 24.2 percent; with secondary education, 23.1 percent; and with unfinished or finished secondary education, 52.7 percent), 64.3 percent of the respondents were confident that the man will be the head of the family; 29.9 percent presumed that the position would be shared by both spouses; and 4.1 percent believed that the wife would become the head of the family; 1.7 percent were unable to answer. Some of the respondents found unexpected the claim of their marital partner to primacy, which occasionally triggered negative feelings, i.e., appeared as a frustrating feature. The following fact is also noteworthy: about 20 percent of the future spouses drastically differed in their opinion as to who should head their family. A detailed discussion conducted on such topics with the respondents lead to the assumption that subsequently such contradictions will in all likelihood appear in a substantially greater number of families.

Actually, in itself the concept of primacy or an equalitarian type of marriage by no means fully determines the style of future relations between spouses. While willingly assuming the role of head of the family, most respondents were unable to define the resulting obligations; a significant percentage of them presumed that the very concept of head of family involves nothing but an authoritarian type of leadership. Many young people believed that the male sex automatically places the husband at the head of the family (this concept was supported by both men and women); it was the prestige of such a role that was emphasized above all in the aspiration to head the family, while the personal qualities required were rarely mentioned.

The study of the answers leads to the assertion that the orientation to head the family is not always the result of conservatism or that stating the need for "twin power" necessarily indicates a feature of democracy. Frequently, such a proclaimed "biarchate" reflects less equalitarian views than the aspiration to assert one's personal prestige. Such a view invariably leads to contradictions, conflicts and underestimating the view of the other spouse.

Primacy in an equalitarian style of relations does not mean a monopoly on power in the family but is based on the choice of the optimal leader,

depending on competence, ability and skill, character features, decision making accuracy and participation in family life.

Our experience indicates that this problem is one of the most difficult in preparations for a marital life. It must be considered in three aspects: psychohygienic propaganda, consultation and instruction. In particular, psychohygienic lectures should focus mainly on the following problems: family management, significance of the primacy of one of the spouses, the economic and moral-psychological obligations of the head of the family, demands concerning his personal qualities, influence of the standards set by the parental family and the closest surrounding on relations between spouses, and type of family power. The young people must be led to the following four main conclusions: 1. The "zone of increased danger" develops a struggle for primacy, based on inadequate aspirations and erroneous views. 2. There are no winners in family "wars," but there always are victims, and the losses are sometimes irretrievable. 3. The main feature in the leadership problem is not only the suitable choice of a leader but the need for the joint discussion of essential family problems and the making of decisions optimal to the family, regardless of who suggested them. 4. The elimination of differences in the approaches should take place not as a result of pressure or passive compromise but through constructive discussion.

Love is unquestionably one of the main conditions for surmounting marital conflicts. According to the study, love plays a great role in the system of family values. The young people describe it as the basic reason for getting married, relating to it the hope of marital happiness. The most widespread three types of expectation of marital happiness are the following: "to love," "to be loved" and "mutual love." The latter is considered axiomatic, so to say, in having a happy marriage. However, as it turned out, in getting married on the basis of love, by no means do young men and women always stick to the uncompromising requirement of mutual love. Of the 576 brides polled, 56.6 percent insisted on the need for such love (66.8 percent of the 510 grooms); 32.3 percent would like, above all, to be loved (14.7 percent of the grooms); and 11.1 percent would prefer to love (18.5 percent of the grooms).

Our results differ from V.I. Zatsepin's data, according to which 70 percent of the girls expressed the wish to be loved and 30 percent to have a beloved husband (4). Most likely, this disparity is explained by the fact that in asking the questions we did not demand an alternative choice. In questioning individuals to be married, such a method is more acceptable from the ethical viewpoint and in order to reflect all "shades" of expectations. Incidentally, V.I. Zatsepin studied the "abstract" views of the young people whereas we studied the views of the respondents who had already decided to get married. Obviously, this too influenced disparities in the answers.

In our view, not only the egotistical or altruistic concept but also the sex of the respondents plays an important role in the question of "loving" or "being loved." It is a question, above all, to begin with, of the need of women to be loved, protected and cared for and, secondly, the aspiration of many men to possess the beloved women fully.



These data lead to specific practical tasks: we must encourage in individuals about to be married deeply to analyze their feelings and indicate to them that in a family without mutual love the likelihood of tense relations is high; we must explain to them that the noncoincidence among concepts requires a particularly attentive and concerned attitude toward the partner, should a conflict breakout.

An important condition for marital stability is the closeness, the coincidence between spiritual and emotional needs and reciprocal adaptability. We studied the importance to the young people of four stabilizing factors: psychological and sexual closeness (community of views and sexual harmony), family life stereotypes (customs), and the legal and moral duties to family and spouse (we later show the results of the survey of 107 people, primarily university students and people with secondary specialized and higher training. The majority of respondents gave priority to common views, followed by sexual harmony, duty and, finally, habit. Noteworthy is the fact that the assessments of men and women essentially coincided. This circumstance enables us to hope for a reciprocal understanding within the marriage.

These results agree with the data provided by S.I. Golod, on spouses with a primarily rational orientation in the marriage (2, p 51). It is true that in the latter habit plays a greater role. Along with other distinctions, this is obviously based on the fact that we studied brides and grooms who idealized their future marriage to a certain extent, rather than spouses with real experience in family life. Furthermore, we must take into consideration that among people with a high level of education and culture (who were in the majority of those we surveyed) the concept of love as the main prerequisite for stability usually implies common views, interests, tastes and aspirations.

The sexual behavior of the partner has a great influence on the adaptation of the spouses; the shaping of this behavior begins long before the marriage. Sociological studies show a substantial "liberalization" in the attitude of young people toward premarital sexual relations (3). Our survey brought to light a number of features in this process (following our data of the survey of 293 coeds at Chernovtsy University): 22.3 percent of the 148 first-year coeds consider premarital sex possible; 46.9 percent of the 145 fifth-year coeds supported this view. Approximately 17 percent do not expect any premarital sexual abstinence of the future spouse, and 8.3 percent of the girls belonging to the first group and 33.3 percent in the second do not consider this a mandatory requirement; 22.4 percent of the 143 first-year coeds and 70 percent of the 119 fifth-year coeds do not see anything prejudicial in having sexual relations with the groom.

The greater exigency shown by the first-year coeds toward themselves and their partner is based, above all, on their age (romantic and idealized concepts predominate between the ages of 18 and 20) and the influence of traditional behavioral standards (most of the respondents came from rural areas). The following fact confirms the latter assumption: the percentage of fifth-year coeds, who have gained substantial practical experience and, for a number of years, have been subjected to the influence of urban behavioral standards, who condemn premarital sexual relations is substantially lower and, compared with the first group, twice as high in its approval of premarital sex relations.

Such views, which are quite popular among young people, require intensified educational work. It is necessary to explain to the young men and women that sexual closeness is morally justified if it is based on a profound feeling and that casual sex is psychologically harmful and lead to intrapersonality conflicts and, above all, reduce satisfaction with marital life.

As a whole, the data lead to the conclusion that many young people have no clear ideas concerning family life and in frequent cases their views on this account are insufficiently conscious and thought-out. This circumstances hinders reciprocal adaptation, particularly at the initial marital stage. In the case of the sociopsychological preparation of young people for marriage, it is necessary to explain to the young men and women not only the significance of the value foundations of a marriage but also to encourage the thorough and profound joint discussion of the various aspects of relations among spouses and their individual aspirations and expectations.

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## MUSICAL TASTE OF YOUNG PEOPLE

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[Article by Stanislav Lvovich Katayev, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent, Zaporozhye Industrial Institute. Author of the article "Business Relations in the Production Association" published in our journal (No 1, 1982)]

[Text] Young people are the segment of the population which is most receptive to the new. Quite frequently today's preferences of young people become a mass, a generally accepted phenomenon tomorrow. This circumstance alone indicates that studying the taste of young people is of prognostic value. This consideration pertains to taste in music as well (by taste in music we understand a selective attitude toward works and genres of music and the ability to understand and appreciate the intention of the composer and the skill of the performer).

Selectivity in the consumption of musical works is correlated, in our view, with musical taste. By determining the musical preferences of young men and women, fuller conclusions may be drawn concerning their sociocultural aspect, moods and problems.

The task of our study (1984) was to study the musical taste of students and members of a music-lovers club. It was written as a monograph and its results are comparable with data from other studies (1).

A taste in music is most clearly identified among collectors of recorded musical works. The music-lovers club in Zaporozhye has 190 members, as follows: 44 percent workers, 31 percent university students and secondary school seniors, and 25 percent employees and ITR. The age breakdown of the membership is as follows: 19 or under, 17 percent; 20-24, 31 percent; 25-29, 27 percent; 30-34, 19 percent; and 35 and older, 6 percent. We gave almost all of them a questionnaire which included the following open question: "What type of music do you collect?" Based on the analysis of their answers, they were classified into several groups, as follows: 75 percent of the club members collect various styles of rock music; 32 percent prefer the "disco" variety; 15 percent prefer Soviet entertainment music, 12 percent prefer classical music and 9.5 percent prefer jazz.

Let us bear in mind that the generally accepted classification of music genres is not entirely suitable in the study of the musical taste of young listeners. For example, the correlation between "entertainment" and "rock" is the same as between type and species. They are presently considered identical: by "entertainment" young people mean the traditional, popular entertainment music, whereas by "rock" they mean a more complex, innovative music with specific means of expression. In our study, the word "entertainment" means not a type of art but a genre of music, for which reason we classify entertainment on the same level as rock, jazz and "disco."

The study indicated that some differences exist among the music preferences of young workers, employees and university students (see Table 1).

Table 1. Musical Preferences of the Members of the Music-Lovers Club,  
% of Surveyed\*

Preferred Music Genre	Social Group		
	Workers	ITR	Students
Rock	60	35	65
Hard rock	14	9	23
Jazz rock	5	4	5
"Disco"	43	13	22
Entertainment	9	22	5
Soviet entertainment	18	22	5
Jazz	8	26	13
Classical	8	26	6.5

\*The total exceeds 100 percent because the respondents were allowed to make several choices. We were unable to separate foreign from domestic rock in this study; the Melodiya Firm is producing virtually no domestic rock music records (10 records in 5 years).

Table 2. Musical Taste of Students, % of Surveyed

Preferred Genre	Boys	Girls	General Rating
Symphonic music	16	24	21
Soviet entertainment	8	65	39
Foreign entertainment	32	69	53
Domestic rock	58	24	39
Foreign rock	58	3	28
Jazz	8	1	4
Folk music	0	3	2
Songs of poet-singers	12	10	11

The studies showed a substantial differentiation in music tastes, depending on age and education. The higher the education of the respondents, the higher the number of those who preferred jazz and jazz-rock. The lower the level, the greater preference for "disco." The younger the listeners, the greater the preference for hard rock. This was a characteristic feature. We were

unable to determine the popularity of songs by poet-singers, for records with such songs are extremely rare and there is virtually nothing to collect.

Domestic rock has become particularly popular of late. Because of its understandability, relevance, entertainment value and development, rock music is becoming an important sociocultural fact of the 1980s. A major disparity has developed between music preferences and works offered by the mass information media. Today, when tape recorders have become widespread among young people, the nature of musical education should be changed. The conservatism shown by music publishers drastically lowers the effectiveness of mass information media in the aesthetic education of adolescents.

In the study of the musical tastes of university students in 1985 we surveyed 106 first-year students at the Zaporozhye Industrial Institute. Our 25 percent selection was based on the random cluster method. The respondents were asked one closed question: "What type of music would you like to listen to during your leisure time?" Eight choices were offered, of which no more than two could be noted (see Table 2). The question was in the nature of a projection, for in our view, this helps to determine the taste in music more accurately. In reality, the structure of music preferences is, naturally, different: in addition to taste the possibility of satisfying musical needs is of great importance.

It is possible that different figures may be obtained in other cities and VUZs. Two facts are salient, however: 1. A substantial differentiation in musical taste based on sex; 2. The popularity of domestic rock. Thus, rock music of any variety was the preferred genre of more than 90 percent of the boys and only 24 percent of the girls. Therefore, in competitions for the best song (performer, composer), in our view two prizes should be awarded: one for "rock" and another for modern entertainment music. We must also take into consideration the musical taste of the young people and include rock music in traditional radio and television concerts.

As to genres, 74 percent of the surveyed youngsters prefer to listen to classical music and rock. The road to classical music of many young people goes through a liking for serious rock and one should not be pitted against the other. This is an error frequently made by older people.

The durability of musical taste is confirmed by the combination of genres preferred by the respondents. Young men prefer domestic and foreign rock (26 percent), foreign entertainment music and foreign rock (17 percent). Girls prefer Soviet and foreign entertainment music (41 percent), classical and entertainment music (14 percent) and Soviet entertainment music and poet-singer songs (10 percent). As we can see, the girls' tastes are more traditional. The boys single out rock, both domestic and foreign. This is the latest trend. Only 5 years ago results would have been different. This is due to two circumstances: first, the spreading of recording equipment; second, the activities of Moscow and Leningrad (frequently amateur) rock groups, who meet the basic needs of young people for "their own" kind of music. Thanks to innovative styles, rock music has been able to give sharpness and clarity to old problems. The topics of rock songs are quite varied and their musical language accurately reflects the interest of

adolescents. During performances by famous rock groups, an instant close rapport is established between them and the young people. This is not astounding, for the majority of domestic rock musicians are quite strict toward themselves and their works. The social themes, which have become part of the repertory of rock groups in recent years, prove that youth culture has matured somewhat.

The results of the analysis reveal the ethical and social trend of the repertory. We studied the texts of 100 songs performed by 10 famous rock groups. Many of them deal with moral problems: the meaning of life, ethical parables and life-stance (32 percent); antiwar topics (15 percent); love (13 percent), sociopsychological portraits of various people (12 percent); scenes from youth life (8 percent); music and dance topics (12 percent); ecology (3 percent); modern technology (3 percent); and exotic topics (2 percent). Rock music is trying to become the spiritual document of its time and calls upon the young person to think about life. This is its important social function.

A more detailed sociological study of the requirements of young people in the areas of art consumption and musical culture in particular, is essential. A profound scientific study of the real situation would enable us to formulate a comprehensively weighed "music policy" for mass information media, the Melodiya All-Union Firm, creative collectives and cultural institutions. So far, however, the sociologists have still not had their say in this matter and sociological information on the musical life of young people is frequently partial. Individual aspects of the problem have been covered in our study as well. However, although very localized, it proved the urgency of the matter.

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## CONCERNS OF THE MASTER OF THE LAND (SOCIOLOGIST'S NOTES)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86 (signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 110-115

[Article by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Petr Iosifovich Simush, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, author of the following monographs: "Sotsialnyy Portret Sovetskogo Krestyanstva" [Social Portrait of the Soviet Peasantry] (1976); "Sovetskiy Krestyanin: Kto On?" [The Soviet Peasant: Who is He?] (1980); and "Selskiy Trudovoy Kollektiv. Voprosy Vospitaniya" [The Rural Labor Collective. Problems of Education] (1984). Author of the article "Scientific Nature and Profound Realism of Contemporary CPSU Agrarian Policy" published in our journal (No 4, 1978)]

[Text] The role of the "human factor" has increased in recent years in the interaction among the individual, collective and social areas. Under the conditions of accelerated socioeconomic changes in the countryside, the content of this concept is related to workers, their needs and incentives, which define man's attitude toward his work, land, collective and society.

The draft party documents for the 27th CPSU Congress discuss the importance of the all-round energizing of the human factor in the development of the agroindustrial complex. In our discussion of the main problems formulated in the draft CPSU program (new edition) (2), we shall consider the following topical problems: what are the interests of the contemporary master of the land? How are his need correlated with objective requirements of the present and the future? What hinders the development of a proprietary feeling?

Occasionally the formulation of the questions today is identified with the discussion held in the 1950s, described as the problem of the "two masters of the land." At that time, however, it was a question of solving contradictions between kolkhozes and machine-tractor stations in the use of equipment on kolkhoz fields. "Why do you work as contractors rather than owners who care for each blade of grass?" Raykom Secretary Martynov asked a machine-tractor station tractor driver in V. Ovechkin's "Rayonnykh Budnyakh" [Rayon Days]. Let us remember that by the end of the 1950s the MTS were reorganized and both their equipment and mechanizers were assigned to the kolkhozes.

It was hardly fortuitous that as early as the beginning of the 1960s articles began to be published, with typical titles, such as "The Land Awaits its Owner." For the past quarter of a century, we have been hearing on the radio and television and reading in newspapers, journals and books, that "the land needs a true owner," and "who is the owner of the land and to what extent?"

As we consider such problems, we become aware of the objective fact that the right of ownership of public property and the mentality of the true owner are by no means synonymous. Viewing the land, which is the property of the nation, as "my" land takes a rather long time. This time can be reduced through objective socioeconomic factors and the activities of the people themselves. Under the conditions of a rural way of life, said factors assume a specific nature, the underestimating of which has caused a great deal of harm. This applies to the uncritical application to agriculture of the industrial system for labor accountability--piece-rate work and payment based on individual operations. The agrarian sector, however, which deals in live products (plants, animals) requires the type of labor organization and wages consistent with its nature.

How is such consistency achieved in practice? We found the answer to this question at the Rassvet imeni Orlovskiy Kolkhoz in Belorussia, which we visited in the summer of 1985. This is the only farm in the country in which wages are still based on labor days. Kolkhoz Chairman V.K. Starovoytov believes that this wage method has not become obsolete and is entirely justified, for the kolkhoz members are interested in end results, in what the farm has produced throughout the year. The labor day remains the main distribution system in this kolkhoz. However, it has changed according to contemporary requirements.

"Our labor day," the chairman said, "is worth approximately 5 rubles. It consists of two parts: the first is a guaranteed payment (2.5 rubles). The kolkhoz members are paid this amount monthly, like a salary. Furthermore, payments in kind are made per labor day. There also is an additional payment which depends on the kolkhoz's annual income. Not everyone is entitled to the second part of the labor day. Thus, discipline violators, waste-makers and drunks are deprived of part or of the full amount of the additional payment."

A wage system not based on assignments has long and successfully been applied at the Rassvet Kolkhoz. Individual earnings are based on the specific job. The main part of the earning (over and above the stipulated minimum) is flexible and takes more fully into consideration worker qualities, which are not always possible to determine, such as responsibility, independent thinking etc. The intensive technology of crop growing requires a knowledgeable worker and a strict observance of labor discipline. Each field must have its specific owner. That is what makes so important the activity of contracting collectives to which land and machinery are assigned.

Closely related to the farm workers are the personnel of the repair services, the land reclamation workers and the agrochemists. As kolkhoz and sovkhoz partners, they must subordinate their interests to the farmer's needs. Their material well-being is being increasingly related to the crops. The Georgian experience (3) indicates that it is by no means a simple matter to



organize the cooperation, the "coupling" of the interests of partners involved in the concerns of the crop grower and livestock breeder. This is another proof in favor of the radical measures which were recently taken by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers (4). The elimination of departmental barriers, which is determined by the very fact of the establishment of the new system for the management of agroindustrial complexes, is a huge step forward in solving the problem of the efficient management of the land and the production of foodstuffs.

The mechanizer is the main personality in the countryside. The most crucial problems in ensuring the availability of cadres and manpower in agriculture must be solved by the mechanizer.

Approximately one-third of all mechanizers are obviously underskilled. No more than 15 percent of the total number of livestock breeders can be rated as first and second class (5). A crash instruction, without corresponding theoretical training, does not provide the knowledge demanded by scientific and technical progress. The problem of reliably ensuring the countrysides with competent and technically, economically and ecologically knowledgeable cadres must be solved with the help of the vocational education system. The results of regional studies confirm that nearly 90 percent of kolkhoz and sovkhos working people believe that they could work much more profitably as a result of suitable organizational and economic changes. About one-third of those surveyed have called for perfecting the organization of labor and production; one out of four has called for greater material incentive and almost one out of five for improving working conditions; one out of seven has asked that better use be made of the individual qualities of the worker (6).

Socialist competition plays a major role in energizing the "human factor." According to sociologist V. Titov, in Krasnodarsk Kray, compared with mechanizers who actively participate in the competition, here 25 percent more work with total dedication; 30 percent more regularly speak out against work shortcomings and 40 percent more display initiative in their work.

A great deal of formalism and red tape remain in the organization of the competition. Publicity and competitiveness are frequently dampened. The level reached is frequently taken as a starting point, for which reason the experience gained in organizing the competition in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of Grodno Oblast is of great interest: here both results and unused opportunities are thoroughly analyzed at each work place.

Studies made in the rural collectives in Latvia revealed an interesting correlation: few members of lagging farms expressed a desire to learn from frontrankers, whereas in average farms many people want to learn more efficient work methods (5, p 82). In many collectives frontrankers have undertaken the training of other workers, sharing their experience at specific work places.

We frequently hear in some areas that "the agrarian economy is overorganized," that "efforts to use economic management methods are frequently replaced by a return to administrative control," or that "we, subdivision managers, have insufficient autonomy in decision making."

Researchers have noted the correlation between the style of management in a farm and the specific nature of the administrative mechanism on the rayon and oblast levels. Some managers have become accustomed to the old work methods. They are either unable or unwilling to convert to progressive work methods. Others are satisfied with their accomplishments, aware of the fact that those who reach a higher production level do not always find themselves in a better position. The comprehensive procedure of planning on the basis of the level reached develops the tendency of "not investing more of oneself," and to conceal some reserves, so that the collective may not suffer material or moral damages. A number of managers, however, daringly step into unknown territory. As a whole, however, innovative experience is being disseminated in the country all too slowly and effective experiments have few followers.

Today we need people with initiative and deep economic thinking, able to defend their own views rather than merely obey instructions "from above." Such are precisely the managers of the frontranking farms, who combine high responsibility and competence with independent thinking and readiness to assume a certain risk in the interest of the work.

Studies made at the beginning of the 1980s in Pyarnuskiy Rayon, EsSSR, indicated that the efficiency indicator of 50 percent of the farms with a high level of output is below the republic's average. Today the farms are rated on the basis of earnings per hectare of cultivated land. The republic applies the method of comprehensive assessment of the utilization of the agro-economic potential of all farms. Estonian scientists believe that objective difficulties account for two-thirds of the difficulties experienced by a lagging farm and cadre weakness for the remaining one-third (7). In farms applying efficient incentives, yields are 20 to 30 percent higher (8).

We are familiar both with a motivation for work as a means of existence and with the awareness that the work performed is a duty to society. Frank discussions with people prove that their responsible attitude toward the work greatly depends on material incentive. However, material incentives do not necessarily mean money. Nonmonetary incentives include travel vouchers, priority in obtaining housing and buying a car, etc. Although the practice of nonmonetary incentive is becoming broader and more varied, in frequent cases it is subject to a great variety of restrictions.

Some scientists deny the primacy of social over private interests. Here is one such view: "The idea of the priority (or primacy) of the interests of society and the collective over those of the individual is frequently mentioned in our press. It is hardly accurate, however, to structure the ranking of interests not on subordination but on interrelationship. It would be more accurate, therefore, to speak of the optimal combination between the two" (9). One can speak of combining public, collective and private interests only by emphasizing the priority of the public interest. The latter, as the Marxist classics emphasized, "exists not only in the sense of being 'universal' but above all as an interdependence among individuals who share in the work" (1).

Let us note that such priority does not mean in the least any belittling of the role of the material interests of the individual. Furthermore, today the

problem of maintaining a steady incentive for labor and involving people in highly productive work assumes exceptional importance. It is a question of changes in the moods of the people and of making all working people understand the essence of events.

Let us consider the essence of such changes. They imply, above all, the mass dissemination of collective forms of labor organization and incentive which would make the income of the members of contracting brigades and links closely related to the quantity and quality of the work.

The adoption of the collective contracting method by entire kolkhozes has become widespread. This eliminates a most serious obstacle: the separate nature of cost accounting collectives of mechanizers and "unfairness" of the salaries paid to managers and specialists. The latter may receive a bonus totaling several monthly salaries, while no such bonuses are provided for the workers. In a number of Stavropol kolkhozes (Kazminskiy, Pobeda, Pravda) everyone, from the guard to the chairman, receive their bonuses from a single source--the farm's net income. Rank-and-file workers are no longer accusing the specialists of receiving big bonuses for minor accomplishments; they have begun to consult them as to what should be improved, where and how? In one of the kolkhozes an abuser of alcohol, who spent the night in a sobering-up institution, lost 1,700 rubles: his entire annual bonus.

The large-scale collective contract motivates the individual worker to work with initiative. However, there still are a number of farms which are becoming increasingly indebted to the state. That is why finding an efficient combination of interests and eliminating group egotism and consumerism are so important.

The second change applies to the appearance of new incentives for interaction between the agrarian economy and the peasant family. Family labor in the private auxiliary plot contributes to the increased volume of agricultural output. In turn, public production continues to have a substantial influence on the well-being of the family. Sociological studies conducted by us at the Matveyevskiy Sovkhoz, near Moscow, the Latvian Adazhi Kolkhoz, the Rassvet imeni Orlovskiy Kolkhoz in Belorussia and elsewhere lead us to speak of a new function performed by the agricultural collective: comprehensive concern for the well-being of the family. Although Latvia is not distinguished by its high birthrate, in recent years the Adazhi Kolkhoz has become an example of a "demographic explosion:" its 1984 birthrate doubled.

Of late the family contract has been extended to crops and livestock farms. It is based on the contract between one or several families of farm workers and a kolkhoz (sovkhoz). This eliminates the need to compute the labor done by the participants in determining their earnings, for the contract is based on strong family relations and reciprocal support among members of the family. Although the views of economists concerning the family contract vary, their most frequent suggestion is for this form of labor organization not to be considered a panacea; however, nor do they call for abandoning it out of hand. In the past, the family contract, which involves primarily manual labor, was considered unviable. Today it is being limited not only because of lack of technical equipment but also because of legal regulations.

Rather crucial questions arise in this case: Are public or private interests given priority in the case of family contracts? How to optimize distribution relations within the "society-agricultural enterprise-family collective" system? Their answer will require a broader planned scientific production experimentation and the participation of economists and sociologists. What is unquestionable is that the family contract offers substantial opportunities for further improvements in agricultural production results.

Creative labor incentives have become widespread in recent years in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This involves the conversion of agriculture to a complex system of managing the quality of labor, the extensive use of intensive technology, and the standardization of milking equipment and livestock feeders. Results can no longer be achieved merely through zeal and industriousness. The precise execution of labor operations is necessary. On the surface, the concepts of "standardization" and "creativity" may seem incompatible in assessing activities in animate nature. Fears have even been expressed that strict standards may have an adverse effect on the creative initiative of agricultural workers. Would the assigning of strict roles hinder the comprehensive development of the individual?

However, standardization inevitably changes with improvements in the "land-science-equipment-technology-end product" cycle. Farmers frequently find themselves in situations governed by no rules whatsoever. It is precisely initiative that proves the extent of development of the practical qualities of the worker and the extent to which he is morally richer than the simple performer. It is noteworthy that orientation toward progressive technology and incentives based on the quality of labor is supported above all in contract collectives.

The attention which the collective pays to the individual is frequently of greater moral value to him than a higher wage. Thus, between 15 and 30 percent of kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers are not interested in a high wage (10). Practical experience indicates that the most efficient steps of collective influence on such people are persuasion, reprimand or group discussion.

Let us consider yet another problem: upgrading the need of the rural worker. The now developing agroindustrial complex is a powerful booster of this process. In particular, special funds are being set up at processing enterprises for providing material incentive to kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers to increase deliveries and improve production quality. Practical experience is offering innovative forms of combining the efforts of RAPO partners. Let us mention the Stavropol Kolkhoz imeni Sarayev which developed on a cooperative basis with the rayon Selkhozkhimiya, a state-kolkhoz chemization center. Kolkhoz mechanizers were assigned to work there, and although their wages are being paid by the state, they have retained kolkhoz membership rights. The kolkhoz helped to develop a strong collective with a feeling of great responsibility for the land. Joint work was organized on the basis of the collective contracting method between land reclamation workers and farmers in Brest Oblast.

In recent years the network of cultural-sports complexes has been broadening in the countryside. Socialist collectivism, which is intensifying in all

areas of life, develops both social and economic efficiency and motivates the people to work better. Sociologists should study more thoroughly the orientation toward collective values and dependence of labor productive on the moral and psychological climate.

Lack of development of social and consumer facilities trigger the urgent problems of satisfying the interests of the rural working people. The amount of consumer services in rural areas is lower than in the cities by one-third and per capita trade is lower by 50 percent. The small dispersed population, combined with an underdeveloped road network, narrow the scope of labor, education and recreation and the choice of profession. This lowers the percentage of the population in the 15-19-year age group, which plays a key role in shaping the labor resources for the immediate future. Many villages are "aging" and experiencing manpower shortages.

What are the economic and social prerequisites which will make the individual choices of the young consistent with national requirements?

The experience of Omsk Oblast can be considered typical and instructive. Here priority was given to developing central farmsteads of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, many of which have become real agrotowns; more than 94 percent of the homes have piped natural gas and two-thirds have water mains. The farms then undertook to develop the medium-sized and small rural settlements and village suburbs.

Skilled workers in the most common rural professions are being trained; secondary school students are being given labor training and the prestige of farm labor is being enhanced. Thanks to these measures, the Omsk villages are being rejuvenated and the average age of their active population is 36; the birthrate is increasing.

Today the attention of economists and sociologists is focused on solving two problems: 1. Eliminating major disparities in the production and economic potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes; 2. Ensuring the further convergence between rural and urban working, living and cultural conditions. We share the view of the researchers who emphasize the need to equalize farms and regions in terms of wages and housing and cultural conditions. As to availability of resources and production potential, equalizing such indicators for the farms is neither possible nor expedient in all cases. The main thing is to ensure the high return on resources for the oblast or the rayon.

Studies have indicated that in addition to labor conditions, the possibility of professional growth by the rural population is of great importance. Limited possibilities in the choice of a profession result in intensive migration of the rural population and to greater migration fluctuations affecting approximately one out of seven rural residents (11). This trend was intensified as a result of relocating many processing industry enterprises to the city. We favor the expanded application of labor in rural areas, the deconcentration of industrial enterprises and the organization of centers for produce processing and storing. In particular, this will enable us to eliminate disproportions in the male and female job structure.

Today, when the villages face the task of making qualitative changes in production forces and production relations we, agrarian sociologists, must analyze more skillfully and efficiently progressive experience in providing incentives to agricultural workers and comprehensively contribute to the further improvement of the management of the agroindustrial complex.

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## SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

### EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN THE PRC

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(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 125-133



[Article by Nina Yefimovna Borevskaya, candidate of philosophical sciences, junior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute. Author of the monographs "Shkola v KNR (1957-1972)" [The School in the PRC (1957-1972)] (1974); "Politika KNR v Oblasti Nauki i Obrazovaniya (1949-1979)" [PRC Policy in Science and Education (1949-1979)] (1980, coauthored). This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] A conference on education, sponsored by the CPC Central Committee and PRC State Council, was held last May (1). The conference dealt with the situation which had developed in the country and the measures stipulated in the "CPC Central Committee Decree on Reform in the Educational System." The delegates to the conference emphasized the urgent need for school reform: nearly one-quarter of China's population, or 230 million people, are either totally or partially illiterate. In a country with a population of 1 billion, there are no more than 2.7 million university students; the network of vocational technical schools is the weakest link in the educational infrastructure. The CPC Central Committee decree calls for a gradual conversion to universal mandatory tenth-grade education, and improvements in the regulations governing enrollment in higher educational institutions and

the system of assignment of university graduates. Curriculums and training methods will be reviewed. What particular processes occurring in contemporary Chinese society have necessitated a reform in public education and in vocational and higher schools? These are the topics of this article.

Soviet publications have already discussed the special type of socioeconomic relations which developed in China toward the mid-1960s, when the "hard cover of the noneconomic coercion system....rapidly began to extend to classes and strata undergoing their establishment and development" (2, p 83), as confirmed by Chinese scientists themselves. Thus, Ding Shixian, of the Shenyang Pedagogical Academy notes that reducing the population's social mobility to a minimum contributed to the intensification of disparities in the development of town and country production forces. Essentially, "two closed economic systems have developed in China, with their traditional ways of life" (3). Natural migration is replaced by various types of coercive migration. China abandoned some of them by the end of the 1970s. Thus, an end was put to the mass exile of graduates of secondary schools and VUZs to rural areas for permanent resettlement (more than 14 million people were given such assignments without the right to return to the cities between 1966 and 1976 (4)). However, the policy of restraining youth migration in the opposite direction--from country to town--is continuing. The network of agricultural and vocational technical secondary schools with special programs for the rural rayons is expanding rapidly. This policy is based on objective grounds.

At the present time the outflow of manpower from country to town has lost its economic necessity, for in the preceding 20 years the increase in the urban population has entirely met the needs of industry. Furthermore, complex socioeconomic processes have resulted in manpower surpluses in the towns. Under such circumstances, "the aspiration of the broad rural youth masses to leave the countryside and move to the city became a major social problem," notes PRC Deputy Minister of Education Zhang Chengxian (5, p 7). The cities are already crowded with unemployed young people with secondary education.

The demographic pressure on the educational system has been eased without being totally eliminated in recent years, thanks to the policy of limiting the birthrate. The multimillion country felt this pressure from the very beginning of the establishment of a people's regime, when the "right to education" was perceived by the citizens of the PRC as a real opportunity for enhancing their social status (3, p 18).

The PRC educational system has been subjected to numerous reorganizations over the past 20 years, starting with the end of the 1950s. Two trends, however, remained permanent. The first was the "extreme-left," which linked education to the exclusive satisfaction of current economic requirements and which demanded immediate social results. Evident here were efforts to find a special educational model oriented toward rural areas. The second, the "pragmatic" trend, did not reject the former but divided the educational system into two areas: 1. Meeting the current needs of the economy and of its most backward sectors, including the rural areas; 2. Aimed at the future, at solving the problems of the scientific and technical revolution and training cadres for the most advanced sectors of the national economy. However, no sufficient efforts were made in the country to create a single



regular school, which would have required significant state investments and would have yielded the slow but real social result of bringing town and country closer to each other and eliminating disparities between physical and mental labor.

The Chinese leadership is fully resolved to carry out the scientific and technical revolution within the shortest possible time. But at what cost? The interconnection between educational system and scientific and technical revolution cannot be considered away from social factors. At the present time, in China's case this means a comprehensive economic reorganization under the conditions of a mixed economy and intensive foreign capital investments. The conversion to a system of responsibility for output, which was initiated at the end of the 1960s in the countryside, and the creation of "specialized farmsteads"<sup>2</sup> brought to life a number of social processes the outcome of which is difficult to predict.

The present course pursued by the Chinese leadership is one of efforts to combine the educational reform with the economic reform in town and country. In the same way that a multilayered system of sectors based on priorities is being created in the economy, a multilayered hierarchical system is being set up in the field of education, consisting of schools on different levels, aimed at meeting the needs of the various economic sectors. It is impossible to consider the educational system in China as something integral, not only because of the tremendous disparity between town and country and between culturally and economically developed and backward areas, but also between schools within a single district.

Rural schools. The polarization of the peasantry and singling out a few "strong farmsteads," which have the support of the leadership and which implement the call to "get rich," is creating changes in the social structure and is correspondingly influencing the educational system.

After the failure of assigning the management of schools and their financing to the so-called large production brigades<sup>3</sup> during the period of the "cultural revolution," steps were taken by the end of the 1970s to centralize the management of primary schools, at least on the district level. In the 1980s, however, a course is being followed of managing primary schools by regional and rural authorities (a region is an association of several villages), for under the conditions of the "enrichment of the countryside," it is claimed that adequate grounds exist for the "good tradition" of creating schools financed by the masses. The district education departments continue to allocate state subsidies but through regional and rural education committees. The main financing of primary schools in the countryside comes out of "collective funds" from withholdings from agricultural income and earnings of enterprises in the processing industry, auxiliary and artisan industries and even direct contributions to education.

This problem merits a more detailed discussion, for here the economic aspect is directly related to the social. Who has the opportunity to study in the Chinese countryside? Thanks to the "farmstead order," and the overall upsurge of agricultural production, in the past few years the income of the peasant families has shown a certain increase.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, judging by official

data alone, 8 percent of the rural population live in poor farmyards (10). However, the cost of education has increased as well. Thus, in Lingchou District of Hebei Province, it has increased more than tenfold compared with 1983 (11). The large peasant families that province annually pay dozens of yuan for education, with an average per capita income of 100 yuan (12). In the case of the few "strong farmsteads," which have become rich in the past few years, and whose income is estimated into the thousands of yuan annually, this is a small amount. However, it is quite substantial for the main peasant masses. This is confirmed by letters from parents whose children are deprived of the possibility of obtaining a primary education: if the parents have been unable to make their payment for education on time, the children are not allowed to go to class and are even not registered in school. The 1983 instruction of the PRC Ministry of Education, to the effect that payments for schooling must be voluntary, is obviously infrequently honored (*ibid.*). The education fee is a fluctuating amount which depends not only on the income of the peasants in a given province but also on the type of school.<sup>5</sup> The amount of the payment is set by the public education authorities of the province, cities under central administration, etc. Therefore, acquiring an education becomes directly dependent on the peasants' income.

The results of sociological studies (14) confirmed the conclusion that it is not the level of literacy that influences income but the income that influences the level of literacy.

As to the dependence of income on the level of literacy of the rural population (that is precisely the way the question is formulated in China: income rather than development of production forces), today this problem has assumed specific features. Not only different types of schools but also each separate school in the countryside must train technical and leading cadres for the large socialized farms (agroindustrial-trade associations, state farms, collective farms) and "specialized farmsteads." Within the same school, in addition to basic classes attended by students enrolled on the basis of the uniform state selection, there may also be classes for working youth, where the training period is 2-3 instead of 4 years, as well as vocational training departments for adolescents coming from "specialized farmsteads." Since usually tuition is required for such departments, they are attended mainly by children from rich farms. Therefore, the "strong farmsteads" have greater opportunities to hire highly skilled specialists for their farms which, naturally, contributes to their further enrichment.

The exchange between town and country within the educational system of the PRC follows two channels: urban graduates of technical schools and VUZs are assigned to work in the countryside in their field;<sup>6</sup> target training is provided for commune scholarship students and students from "specialized farmsteads." However, the lack of measures to keep cadres in the countryside and the low living standard of the Chinese peasants have led to the fact that no more than 34.5 percent of the 730,000 people who graduated from agricultural VUZs in the past 30 years (3, p 23) have remained in the countryside. In order to attract skilled cadres to the villages privileges in entering a VUZ are given to individuals who undertake to go to work in the countryside after graduation. Therefore, enrollment in agricultural VUZs takes place through several channels: 1. National examinations; 2. Target

selection (if a secondary school graduate agrees to work in the countryside after his graduation from the institute, enrollment requirements are lowered); 3. Signing contracts with the "specialized farmsteads," which pay for VUZ training. Thus, correspondingly, 380, 40 and 60 people were accepted by the Northeast China Agricultural Academy (Harbin) for the 1984/85 school year.<sup>7</sup>

In 1982 there were only 1,245 specific-purpose scholarship students from various districts enrolled in Shanghai's VUZs, as follows: education departments, 825; agriculture, 240; medical, 120; and engineering-technical, 60 (16). In 1983 75 percent of the 20,000 first-year students in VUZs under provincial administration had specific-purpose scholarships; their share in medical institutes was particularly high.

A system of enrolling VUZ students on the basis of contracts (after the VUZs had reached the state indicators) was introduced in China in the 1983/84 school year. This makes it possible to finance the education of some of the students by the collective sector and the "specialized farmsteads," whose needs for cadres cannot be included in state planning. Such students are not assigned by the state: they return to work in the collective which paid for their training.

The agricultural collective enterprises and the rich farmsteads were given the right (on the basis of decisions made by the individual provinces) to hire graduate specialists on the basis of direct contracts. Subsequent to the approval of the request by the provincial planning committee and education department, a contract is signed with the graduates. Typically, such enterprises and farmsteads offer specialists higher salaries than state establishments.

Vocational technical training. In the 1950s, the living conditions of the majority of Chinese working people were not contributory to the development of reading and writing skills. The incentives for enhancing cultural standards were more political and social than economic. The overwhelming majority of working people were employed at manufacturing and artisan enterprises where no literacy was required. The low level of production forces hindered the development of socialist-type schools. Today the rural schools must provide the population basic knowledge without which mastery of the new equipment and training the necessary number of economic managers and agronomists is impossible. The reaching of this target will be helped by a law on universal mandatory grammar education, which is currently being drafted.<sup>8</sup>

However, a great deal is being written in the Chinese press about a new social obstacle blocking the spread of universal schooling. This applies to the "specialized farmsteads" in the countryside, according to which farms which are still underequipped are interested in manpower, which leads to the mass dropout of school children. Peasants are preventing their children from attending school in areas with extensive farmland and where manpower shortages are particularly severe. Manpower problems have appeared in the cities as well. As the central press reports with some concern, small enterprises in medium-sized and small towns in China are violating hiring laws by hiring adolescents under 16.

The scientific and technical revolution presented a new challenge to the entire cadre training system: "It is not a question of our inability to develop new technology but of the fact that we are unable to apply it on a broad scale due to the lack of professional training" (18, p 18). The Chinese scientists suggest making a law on vocational training, according to which individuals without vocational training would be deprived of the right to employment, while people already employed would be dismissed from positions requiring specialized training.

For the time being, the percentage of technical specialists remains low in the PRC. Seventy percent of the 40 million skilled workers have a third grade of lower rating (19). Some 80-90 percent of young industrial workers who began work after the "cultural revolution (more than half of the total) have reached first and second grades. The educational standard of trade and service workers is quite low: 77 to 86 percent of them have unfinished secondary training.

The long lack of systems for secondary specialized and vocational-technical training in the country resulted in an extremely inefficient correlation among graduates of higher and secondary specialized schools: 1:1.76 (19). Nevertheless, the percentage of enrollment in the latter is declining. Whereas in 1979 said correlation was 1:1.79, by 1983 it had reached 1:1.22 and 1:0.69 in technical departments (ibid.). According to Chinese specialists, the number of the former should exceed that of the latter by a factor of 3-4 among graduates of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions.

The reinforcement of the working class with young skilled workers comes from the urban population, for according to current regulations, technical schools can enroll only city dwellers (in 1983 no more than 500,000 people were enrolled in such schools (19)). For the time being, the system of vocational-technical education extends to an insignificant percentage of graduates of incomplete secondary schools. Secondary agricultural schools accept no more than 430,000 students annually, whereas urban vocational training schools accept 320,000 (ibid.). The percentage of incomplete and complete agricultural secondary schools and vocational-training schools in the countryside is increasing. The task is for the students in such schools to equal the number of students attending conventional secondary schools by 1990.

Most rural secondary schools have already adopted the vocational training system. It is believed that in the immediate future they will account for two-thirds of all rural secondary schools (i.e., one general education school per 100,000 population). They will be attended by some 8-10 million children (of a total of 152 million) aged 12 to 17, residing in rural areas.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the steps which are being taken, vocational-technical training is developing slowly, unevenly and with considerable fluctuations. In the 1984/85 school year one-third of the total number of students pursuing full secondary education training were attending vocational-technical and secondary specialized schools (3-4 percent in 1977) (20). This leap was accomplished by amending the status of the second-class secondary general education schools, the reconstruction of the old and the building of new schools. In accordance

with the course charted in China, vocational education must have a primary, secondary and higher level. The latter consists of colleges (attended by no more than 47,000 people in 1984 (21)). They charge tuition, provide no dormitories and no job guarantees; the course lasts 2-3 years. Colleges train specialists in narrow technical skills for small and medium-sized enterprises (accelerated training departments exist in most VUZs as well).

In order to enhance the reputation of vocational schools, they must guarantee jobs for their graduates. Today the Chinese youth are unwilling to attend such schools. However, the broadened area of tourism, services, trade and enterprises in the collective sector are contributing to the gradual increase in the number of young men and women enrolling in such schools. Most of them train cadres for the nonproduction sphere. Thus, 65 percent of the 200 schools in Beijing are precisely of this type (22). In China the future development of vocational training is closely related to the revival of collective enterprises and "specialized farmsteads," which will not only be able to employ graduates of vocational-technical and secondary specialized schools but also offer them wages higher than those paid VUZ graduates. Today the skill of school graduates is not taken into consideration in terms of wages. The other contradiction is that the labor departments do not assign them to work at state enterprises and, should they be employed by the latter, they do not work in the area of their specialized training.

Table 1. Enrollment and Graduation of Students in PRC Urban and Rural First and Second Level Schools, Millions

School Location	Enrollment 1978		Graduation 1981	
	I	II	I	II
Cities	1.86	1.67	1.75	1.46
District Centers	1.53	1.19	1.43	1.18
Countryside	16.67	4.06	8.36	2.22
Total	20.06	6.92	11.54	4.86

Table based on "China Education Yearbook" data (24).

Since the state sector does not plan to increase its personnel in the immediate future, school graduates will go essentially to collective enterprises (23, p 150). Consequently, in recent years the educational standard of young workers at enterprises in the collective sector has become higher than at state enterprises (18, p 16).

In present-day China parents holding leading positions try to place their children in schools which provide a full general education training. In a number of areas the number of students in vocational plant schools has declined and some schools were closed down, so that a significant amount of the funds were used to pay for training in "key schools"<sup>10</sup> attended by children of highly placed parents.

Educational opportunities. The right to advance to a rural general education secondary school from a grammar school is granted only to graduates of district "key" primary schools and particularly gifted children. As Zhang Chengxian notes, "The reform of rural schools is not aimed in the least at

changing registration rules" (5). Whereas 90 percent of school-age children (80 percent according to other data) reside in the Chinese countryside, 87 percent were attending rural primary schools (in 1981), 75 percent were enrolled in first-level and 42 percent in second-level secondary schools.

As the table shows, the bulk of "dropouts" are rural school students.

In 1981 68.1 percent of primary school graduates entered incomplete secondary schools, 97 percent in towns and 61.9 percent in villages; training in the second-level secondary schools was continued by 29 percent of first-level school graduates, 50 percent in town and no more than 16 percent in the country. At the same time, the country had 0.6 percent of primary "key schools" and 3.8 percent secondary schools of this type. Although no more recent data exist on their correlation between town and country, we believe that the 1963 ratios prevail, according to which the breakdown of "key" secondary schools was as follows: 62 percent in the cities, 32 percent in district centers and 8 percent in the countryside (24, pp 131, 168). In Beijing "key" secondary schools have the right to accept the best students from other schools (25).

In 1980 it was recommended to the "key VUZs" to establish direct contacts with "key" secondary schools, whose students are the actual future university students. Starting with the end of the 1950s experimental schools have been operated at the oldest educational institutions--the universities in Beijing, Fudan and Tientsin. The prospectus of the Fudan University indicates that since the end of the 1970s it has enrolled more than 90 percent of the graduates of the "key school" located on the university campus.

Graduates of secondary schools in China are assigned to higher and secondary specialized schools on the basis of the results of state examinations (the examination questions are drafted by the PRC Ministry of Education). The secondary school graduates can apply to five VUZs (two departments per VUZ on a preferential basis). Applicants who have earned no less than 450-500 points (they must take six examinations, the results of which are graded on the basis of a 100-point system) are assigned to the "key VUZs." Applicants who total no less than 400 points are assigned to ordinary VUZs; applicants with 250 to 300 points are assigned (if they so desire) to secondary specialized schools.

The enrollment of graduates of ordinary schools in "key VUZs" was hindered as the result of the introduction of two programs of ordinary and greater difficulty (starting with the 1983/84 school year). The tests are based on standard programs on which the students are graded. In a number of subjects, however, (mathematics, physics, chemistry, and English and Russian languages), the tests included additional questions based on more difficult programs. Answers to these questions were not considered in rating the students but were passed on to the "key VUZs" for whose benefit they had been formulated. The introduction of textbooks of two categories for different types of schools has triggered the population's discontent as confirmed, in particular, letters to the editors of RENMIN RIBAO. In noting the expediency of these steps, a representative of the PRC Ministry of Education stressed the need to upgrade the level of knowledge of secondary school graduates in said subjects (26). In order to increase the worker-peasant stratum in VUZs, production

frontrankers and demobilized soldiers are granted facilities; their passing grade is lowered and the maximum enrollment age is extended to 28 (instead of 25); some VUZs have opened preparatory departments for such students. Special privileges are granted to best students whose files, in accordance with the regulations which became effective starting with the 1984/85 school year, could be sent to the "key VUZs;" the latter have the right to enroll such students regardless of examination results.

No data on the social structure of the students have been made public in China in recent years; nor are they found in the first consolidated education yearbook which came out in 1984. The main trend followed in the VUZs is the increased number of students from families of intellectuals and cadre workers.<sup>11</sup> Thus, in the largest Shanghai VUZ, Fudan University (22,000 students), 60 percent of the students are the offspring of members of the intelligentsia and cadre workers; 20 percent of children of worker families and 20 percent of peasant families. In the liberal-arts VUZs, such as the China People's University, 70 percent of the students are children of workers and peasants. Their share is higher in VUZs without target selections: more than 80 percent of the students at the Northeast China Agricultural Academy (Harbin) come from peasant families.

Under present-day circumstances, children of workers have the greatest difficulty in enrolling in a VUZ. For example, they account for no more than 10 percent of the first-year students Heilongjiang University (Harbin). This is explained not only by the fact that the rural population predominates in the country, but also the fact that the members of the now rich "strong farmsteads" have better possibilities of paying the tuition for their children. The low percentage of workers' children in the country's VUZs is also explained by a specifically Chinese factor, such as the right of children to take over the jobs of their parents who have retired (applicable to jobs not requiring high skills). This deprives the offspring of worker families of the incentive to upgrade their educational standards.

The desire for higher education has increased among the Chinese youth in recent years. There is great competition for VUZ enrollment. Thus, at Nankai University there are four competitors per vacancy; at Tongji University, which maintains close contacts with schools in the FRG, 10 students compete for a single opening; in the department training students for studies in the FRG, 25 students compete for one place.

Many graduates of "key VUZs" pursue graduate studies. First in this area is Fudan University, where 53 percent of graduates in the physics, 48 percent of the chemistry and 44 percent of the mathematics departments went on to graduate studies in the 1984/85 school year.

At the present time departments teaching the humanities are not particularly popular among China's youth. In 1984 less than 7 percent of graduates of Harbin's "Key School" No 3 applied to departments teaching the humanities. Conversely, young people willingly enroll in departments teaching computer technology, bioengineering and production automation. The prestige of economics departments has drastically increased in connection with the reorganization of the national economy taking place in the country.

Sociological departments appeared in the country quite recently. One of them--at Beijing University--opened in 1982. Currently it is training 60 future teachers of sociology. Since the theory and methodology of sociological research were not studied in China in the past, great difficulties appeared in drafting curriculums. So far, textbooks and works by scientists from different countries, including Soviet, have been translated. Soviet works include G.V. Osipov's "Teoriya i Praktika Sotsiologicheskikh Issledovaniy v SSSR" [Theory and Practice of Sociological Research in the USSR]; "Istoriya Burzhuaiznoy Sotsiologii Pervoy Poloviny XX Veka" [History of Bourgeois Sociology of the First-Half of the 20th Century], edited by L.G. Ionin and G.V. Osipov; G.M. Andreyeva's "Sotsialnaya Psikhologiya" [Social Psychology] and others. The primary task of the country's sociologists is to study the problems of the contemporary Chinese countryside.

A qualitative restructuring of the entire educational system in the PRC is currently being discussed not only in China but abroad as well. Thus, American Sociologist M. Feyerverker believes that increased social inequality is the price which must be paid by China for a "sensible concentration of limited resources in the most important areas" (28). S. Pepper notes in his article "Costs of Modernizing in Chinese Education," that "the social costs of the current strategy of development are extremely high" (29). The bourgeois scientists who believe that the educational system has a decisive impact on the social structure consider the existence of "key" schools the root rather than the consequence of evil. Actually, this is a reflection of the economic reform with its rigid priorities, "socialist rivalry," rural differentiations and the promotion and expansion of collective and private sectors and the "open doors" policy. M. Broaded, who properly points out the closed nature of Chinese social strata and classes, writes that current PRC policy in the field of higher education "will facilitate the restoration of stratification in Chinese society" (30). According to J. Kwong, "The examination system in itself is not a source of social inequality but reflects, preserves and even strengthens the latter" (31).

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The revolution in education (1966-1969) was extensively covered by the Soviet press (6-7).
2. The association, consisting of one or several families, specializes in a specific agricultural sector or an artisan or auxiliary industry.
3. A farming association consisting of several villages (150-200 farmsteads).
4. Per capita rural income in 1982 was as follows: under 150 yuan, 10.8 percent of farmsteads; 150-300 yuan--53 percent; more than 300 yuan, 36.2 percent (8). Average per capita income in 1985 was 355 yuan, with significant differences among provinces (9).
5. In May 1983 the CPC Central Committee and PRC State Council passed a document stipulating that the educational system in the countryside must be such as to meet a variety of requirements and offer various forms and terms of training (5 or 6 years), based on curriculums approved by the



Ministry of Education for full-day schools, reduced curriculums or study of basic disciplines only, such as Chinese language and arithmetic (13).

6. Graduates "who violate assignments are deprived of assignment mandates and must refund to the VUZ the full amount of their scholarship" (15).
7. This and some other information used in this article were reported to the author by Chinese education workers during her trip to the PRC in the autumn of 1984.
8. Similar laws were passed in the individual provinces. In particular, administrative steps are contemplated, such as taxing the parents who prevent their children from acquiring a grammar education (17).
9. According to the 1982 census, 4.8 percent of youngsters aged between 15 and 19 attend (or have graduated from) full secondary schools or VUZs.
10. We already wrote on the privileged schools on different levels, which appeared in the 1950s and were described as "key" schools (23, p 151).
11. The suggestion was made of "increasing in the VUZs the percentage of children from the intelligentsia" at a conference of education workers of Hubei Province (1984).

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### DUTY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) p 155

[Letter to the Editors by P.V. Samodurov, deputy general director,  
Zhdanovtyazhmash Association, Zhdanov, Donetsk Oblast]

[Text] Dear comrades: in issue No 2, 1985 you started a new section titled "Scientific Publicism," which contained the interesting and very informative article by V.V. Vityuk on "leftwing" terrorism in the FRG and West Berlin. As a steady reader of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, I warmly support this editorial initiative, the more so since in the subsequent issue (No 3) you once again included a scientific-publicistic article. As befits a publicist, its author Yu.N. Davydov gave it a very expressive title of "Family and Passion." The fact that this rubric appeared for a second time led me to the conclusion that "Scientific Publicism" was not a fluke but a serious intention on the part of the editors. This I found very pleasing. Some academic journals dealing with the humanities base their activities on the radically faulty principle which is essentially the following: highbrow scientists speak to each other over the head of the reader or, at least, without trusting him....

Please understand me properly: I do not call in the least for adapting scientific articles but for clarity and precision in their presentation. Or, to use a sociolinguistic expression, for a standard in text efficiency. What happens quite frequently? An article would be written in a subtle fashion, with a strong claim to being scientific. If analyzed, however, it turns out that hiding behind such pseudoscience is triteness. The ponderous unintelligible style seems to me to be a consequence of a complex of scientific inferiority, an aspiration to exclusivity and to the right to belong to the circle of the chosen.

I believe that it is the professional duty of every true social scientist to be understood by the largest possible number of people. That is why readers who are not sociologists but who closely follow the development of sociology (precisely people like myself) will certainly like your rubric on "Scientific Publicism." I can quite clearly imagine the type of author for this rubric: be a person who has experienced and thought about a great deal of things. Daily impressions, combined with

research data, unwittingly lead to thoughts, to the study of something already experienced, and to a comparison among events, facts, ideas and opinions. Such a person has something to say not only to his colleagues but to a broader audience as well. It is at that point that he takes up the pen no longer as a researcher but as a scientist who is also a publicist. I am confident that such considerations could include more science than a so-called scientific article. Actually, who would undertake to distinguish between a scientific and a publicistic article?

Finally, the article by V.V. Vityuk, with which I opened this letter, included an inaccuracy. It mentions on page 148 the mayor of Stuttgart, Rommel, the son of the famous German field marshal, who participated in the conspiracy against Hitler. Actually, Mayor Manfred Rommel has never been in the military, a circumstance which he likes to emphasize. Obviously, the author must have misread the name of Manfred in the foreign text.

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ANNOYING ERROR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) p 156

[Letter to the Editors by P.I. Sidorov, Minsk]

[Text] Dear editors: Your journal (No 3, 1985) carried an article by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Yu.N. Davydov "Family and Passion." Although interesting and impressive in a number of respects, it somewhat loses its power of argumentation and influence on the reader due to an error on page 170 which reads: "...Goddard's picture 'The Last Tango in Paris'." According to the author of the article, therefore, the noted French Director J.-L. Goddard was the maker of said motion picture. Actually, the film "The Last Tango in Paris" was based on the novel by Robert Elli and directed by the Italian Director Bernardo Bertolucci (produced by Alberto Grimaldi).

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LET US INVESTIGATE THIS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 156-159

[Letter to the Editors by A.I. Antonov, Moscow]

[Text] Dear editors: No 2 for 1985 of your journal includes a review by N.V. Malyarova of S.I. Golod's monograph "Family Stability: Sociological and Demographic Aspects" (1) which contains concepts inconsistent, in our view, with the true nature of this work. The work does not deal with the sociological and demographic aspects of family stability in the least, as the title shows, but with the psychological and sexual aspects of the spouses' satisfaction with their marriage.

The interdisciplinary study of the factors which influence family stability is of major scientific and practical significance in connection with the divorce rate which has greatly increased in recent years and the negative consequences of destabilizing processes. However, S.I. Golod considers cases of family instability not in connection with the formulation of steps taken to strengthen the family and to improve demographic processes, but somewhat differently. The author's position on most of the problems considered in the book is not entirely clear and is sometimes difficult to determine. The situation with cases of instability is different. Here we see an entirely specific attitude. "It is becoming increasingly obvious on the scientific level," he writes, "that the phenomena in the marital and reproduction areas identified in the 1960s and 1970s can no longer be interpreted simply, as deviations from the standard, but must be considered as characteristics of essential evolutionary changes within the institution of the family itself. Trends such as reduced birthrate, having few children or deliberately remaining childless are characteristic of the large cities and industrially developed parts of the country" (p 4); furthermore, "...The changes which have taken place could be considered revolutionary in terms of their nature, depth and significance" (p 6). This explains why the author mentions demographic policy no more than once or twice and nowhere discusses the question of its targets in terms of the number of children in the family.

It seems to us that S.I. Golod's main effort is to prove the progressive nature of the process of the conversion of the family into a "marital type" family, i.e., a family based not on economic and reproductive functions but on

the psychological, cultural-intellectual and sexual interaction between spouses (p 89). This is essentially wrong. The features which the author ascribes to a marriage, defined as the "personal interaction between wife and husband, regulated by moral principles and supported by inherent values" (p 36) are inherent in any interaction among people, regardless of sex or marital status. They are not specific of spouses. This also applies to the values of marital life singled out by the author, such as "adaptation," i.e., the striving for a value-orientation unity between the participants in this intercourse; "intimacy" and "autonomy," i.e., the type of closeness among people in which the individuals' independence is not lost.

Marriage and family are based above all on economic and reproductive relations, although, naturally, this does not belittle the significance of all other relations which turn out to be superstructural. It is precisely in the area of changes in the basic, the economic foundations of the family, that we should seek reasons for changes in the cultural-value relations between its members, not only between spouses but also between parents and children. We do not find in the book even the slightest trace of such an analysis in determining marital interaction. Nowhere in the work is a study made of the socioeconomic factors of marital-family changes and family stability; nor do we find a study of conflicts in the functioning of the contemporary family.

As proof of the hypothesis that the family develops toward "marital variety" (p 89) the author provides no supportive data other than a table on the dynamics of the average size of families in the union republics in the USSR for the period between the censuses (p 12), a few figures on ethnic differences in the expected number of children, borrowed from the book by G.A. Bondarskaya (p 11) and fragmentary information from ethnographic works. Such data describe quite superficially the process of nuclearization of the family and differentiations in the birthrate and can be no confirmation whatsoever of the development of the family toward a "marital variety." Unfortunately, many of the other important concepts in the book are not the result of supporting considerations or strict empirical summations. They are merely listed, proclaimed on the basis of general considerations and guidelines. Still, all of this is being expressed categorically and with mandatory references to "representative statistical data." Thus, for example, we find at the end of the book a statement on the truthfulness of the assumption which is central to the author's concept: "Theoretical analysis, supported by a variety of data (statistical, ethnographic, sociological) confirmed our assumption of the main trend in the development of the urban family in the direction of marital variety" (p 89). The author subsequently "supports" this conclusion by referring to two short articles--the five-page article by W. Goode and a 10-page article by R. Weiss (published, respectively, in 1961 and 1970). However, could they be seriously considered as an argument in favor of a process allegedly developing in our country? In our view, the idea of the development of the family as a "marital variety" remains totally unproven.

S.I. Golod considers in his book two variants of the "marital family," its monogamous and polygamous aspects, claiming that "at the present time systematic polygamy has become a permanent cultural phenomenon" (p 89) and that "the marital type family in the two mentioned hypostases is gathering strength" (p 96). The author does not explain what to do with the children of

a polygamous marriage, how many children such a family would have and what would be the reasons a the couple to have such children.

Curiously, the author proceeds not from the interests of the family as a whole but unconditionally places marriage above parenthood, although he notes the alleged fact of "increased role of children" in the family in connection with the fact that "they account for one-quarter to one-half of the family budget." The author prefers to consider this "fact" not from the viewpoints of family unity or interaction between parents and children but "through the lens of the marriage" or, in other words, from the viewpoint of the extent to which "the jointly planned child helps the emotional and psychological interaction between husband and wife" (p 17).

S.I. Golod considers that chances of a second marriage are equal for men and women, without supporting his opinion with any data whatsoever (p 89). Yet, under the conditions of significant differences in the mortality of men and women and, consequently, disproportions in the numerical correlation among sexes, such chances cannot be the same for men and women, even in theory.

The idea of "polygamous marriage" implies the emancipation of both spouses from a stable marriage as the only base for having and raising several children in a family. Ultimately, it means freeing the spouses from having children. We are amazed by the fact that in order to substantiate his concept of "marital autonomy," the author resorts to the works of the British Utopian V. Godwin, who favored in his time a separate life for husbands and wives. In general, the author extensively refers to V. Godwin, who once scourged the "evil" of joint life by spouses and "family routine," which forbid "the neighbor to display his qualities" to the monopolized wife, but not to the wife of the neighbor. The prospect of a polygamous marriage is expanded in Golod's book with the prospect of nonmarital unions. In addition to "deliberate childlessness," divorces and few children, all of this creates a picture of total lack of any prospects for having children by the family of the future.

It is equally strange that in a monograph whose specific topic is the problem of family stability the category of stability itself is not specified and no analysis is provided of the views of other scientists on this matter. The problem of stabilization of the family as a social institution, consistent with the social needs for population reproduction and the socialization of children, is shifted to the interpersonality level of interaction among independent individuals (pp 36-37). Furthermore, the reader is clearly led to the conclusion that it is precisely the marital family, i.e., the family in which "satisfaction" virtually eliminates duty and responsibility to society, that is the stablest. Satisfaction is interpreted as purely individual emotion although, as we know, there also is such a thing as the happiness of fulfilled duty. However, even if we agree with the author's interpretation of satisfaction, the reader has the right to demand scientific proof of the conclusion concerning any type of stability of the marital family. For example, having traced the life of a family cohort for a certain period of time, the author might have established a lesser likelihood of the breakdown of such families. Alas, the book does not include such data. Let us also add



that the extent of satisfaction with the marriage is determined through of quite unreliable methods.

In discussing changes in the family today there is no longer any need to prove the existence of the nuclearization of the family and the increased frequency of having few children. The assessment of such processes and how to handle them are different matters. It is precisely in terms of the assessments that we disagree with S.I. Golod in a number of things, for he considers such processes exclusively from the point of view of their positive aspects, choosing to ignore contradictions and sometimes even defending their negative aspects, treating the fact of having few children a far-fetched problem. Let us repeat that his views are based less on the study of demographic data than on the arbitrarily interpreted views of some demographers. We read on page 97 that "Some demographers, who favor quantitative analysis, believe that a drop in the birthrate leads to depopulation, i.e., to the virtual withering away of the population. This conclusion is essentially based on a lowering of the overall birthrate coefficients in the 1960s and the lowered net coefficient of population reproduction in some areas." The author further refers to V.A. Borisov (3) and the book by Ye.D. Grazhdannikov (4).

However, these were books published 10 years ago, and many other works have appeared since, in which the seriousness of the problem of a low birthrate has been convincingly proved (such as (5)). This problem is no longer denied by any demographer. The specialists S.I. Golod selects as his allies have revised their former views (see, for example, 6 and 7).

In assessing S.I. Golod's book as a whole, let us note that he has replaced the study of the objective logic of marital-family relations with an actual defense of their subjective aspects. It was this that motivated us to write this article in support of a view which is more in step with the content of the book as compared to N.V. Malyarova's review. The theoretical content of the book does not justify the view that it is a "substantial contribution to the development of the sociological theory of the family," or a new way of understanding marital life, for if by this we mean the "aspiration to reject ready-made answers" to questions of the social institutionalization of marriage, we should begin by considering whether this is always good from the scientific and, therefore, the practical viewpoint.

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#### LACK OF EXPERIENCE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) p 159

[Letter to the Editors by S.M. Balanovskiy, Omsk]

[Text] As head of a plant labor sociology and psychology laboratory, I am particularly interested in the training of managers among foremen and section chiefs directly at the enterprise. The training time for management reserves and the methods and forms of supervision of the training period have still not been properly developed, although everyone realizes the importance of such steps. Observations of the labor career of production workers promoted into the reserve prove that the resignation of 25 percent of them "on their own volition" is explained by lack of practical experience in their new position. Practical experience indicates that the future manager cannot function without proper training. Although this means that for a month or more a specialist is taken away from his main job, it is worth it, for practice is the most efficient form of training a candidate for a managerial position and for becoming a captain of industry.

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## SCIENTIFIC REPORT ON RESULTS OF STUDIES

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(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 159-161

[Letter to the editors by Yu.A. Potapenko, Volgograd, answered by A.I. Demidov]

[Text] Dear editors: Recently an argument broke out in our laboratory on the rules for drawing up a scientific report on results of a sociological study. Every associate seemed to have his own opinion on the subject. I consulted specialized publications. However, very little has been written on this subject. Could you tell us in greater detail how to draft a scientific report?

The editors asked A.I. Demidov, senior scientific associate, Department of Applied Sociology, MGU Philosophy Department, to answer the question:

A report on the results of a sociological survey is a scientific and technical document which reflects in a systematized fashion the main data of the completed project. It includes the following: a brief content of the research program, an analysis of results, scientific conclusions and practical recommendations.

The formulation of a report is an exceptionally important stage in the activities of the researcher. As the most important document in the implementation of any sociological project, the report is a foundation for all subsequent work. It is on its basis that sociologists submit formal reports to the customer, and supply information to the superior organizations and data as a basis for management decisions. A scientific report is the basis for writing articles, books, method aids and monographs. It is the focal point of attention in supervising the quality of implementation of a research project and assessing its scientific value.

The document is drafted by the science manager and the responsible workers. It must be reviewed by the collective which drafted it, approved by the superior organization and submitted to the customer. In addition to its practical value, the report is also of financial and legal importance.

The administrative-financial purpose of the report is that it is a document on the basis of which the cost effectiveness of a given study is determined. This function is particularly important in studies based on a contract, in which each consecutive stage in financing the project, according to the contract, requires a report on the completion of the preceding stage. The legal purpose of the report is based on the data it contains on establishing authorship rights of an invention or scientific discovery and payments to the researchers if they work on a contractual basis. The report lists the head of the project, the performer in charge and the other performers and coperformers.

Gosstandart and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology drafted general rules on submitting reports on scientific research projects, effective as of 1 January 1982 (1). A standard report form has been approved for all theoretical, research and applied studies, including sociological ones, which streamlines the entire process and makes it possible to integrate the results of a number of studies and thus to enhance their practical scientific efficiency.

A report on the results of a sociological study must meet the following criteria: accurate, clear and consistent presentation of data; clarity of formulations; convincing argumentation, based on specific facts and mathematical data. Let us emphasize that the study must include only the most essential aspects of the problem in which the integral and systemic approach is determining. This makes it possible scientifically to substantiate conclusions and to formulate serious recommendations for practical use.

The body of the report should not include trivial views, conclusions and recommendations. The compilers must be well-acquainted with the problems of the customer and the extent to which the formulated recommendations will contribute to their solution.

The report begins with a title page which identifies the scientific institution or higher educational establishment in charge of the study, gives the name of the topic and lists the year and month of its completion. This is followed by the list of the performers, with their full names, scientific degree, position and volume of work done, followed by a brief summary on sources, new concepts and terminology used. The summary must reflect the purpose, object, subject and methods of research, the equipment used, specific data on the essential aspects of the work and basic conclusions and recommendations.

The report consists of several sections.

The introduction substantiates the relevance of the study, the extent to which the problem was developed, the novelty of the topic and its relation to similar problems. If the report reflects merely a specific stage in the study and is an interim report, the target and tasks of the sociologists at that stage and its place in the overall study must be indicated. The introduction to the final report must enumerate all interim reports by stage and numerical sequence. The body of the report describes, as we pointed out, the research program. It assesses and substantiates research trends and methods, describes

the methodology and techniques used and offers a sociological interpretation and operational concepts. It includes a list of abbreviations, acronyms, units of measurement and terminology. In other words, this part of the report answers the question of what we wanted to study and how?

The body of the report sums up the results of the study. It includes an assessment of the extent to which the problems have been solved, the consistency between the study and the program and the accuracy of results. The latter are compared with domestic and foreign data. This is followed by a substantiation of the need for additional studies in the case of information indicating shortcomings in the program or a disparity between the selected method and the end result as stipulated in the research assignment.

The final part of the report consists of brief conclusions based on the entire study and practical recommendations on the use of the results. It is at this point that the area of their practical application is indicated. If the technical and economic efficiency cannot be determined in monetary terms, the national economic and social value of the results must be indicated. This is followed by a short note on the work of the performers, particularly those who have contributed the most and should be rewarded. If the results of the study have been published (fully or partially) a bibliographic reference must be provided.

For the sake of compactness, some data may be included in the appendix. They include the research tools (investigations, survey forms, intermediary mathematical computations), forms of mathematical processing of empirical data, figures and tables; minutes of the most important discussions in the course of the study; illustrations and photographs; decisions made in connection with the completion of the study or of its individual stages; documents on the application of practical recommendations; bibliography of other publications on the same topic; references and reviews related to published data; and copies of authorship certificates and patents.

Reports should be bound. An separate volume should not exceed 90 pages.

Strict requirements govern the presentation of the typewritten text. Illustrations (drawings) and tables are numbered in arabic figures, preceded by the number of the section to which they pertain. For example, "Table 1.2" means that this is the second table in the first section. Single illustrations or tables are numbered. Formulas (if more than one) are numbered separately for each section. For example, (2.3) refers to the third formula in the second section. Notes to the text are numbered consecutively in arabic figures. Illustrations are included in the text after the first reference to the same. Drawings are made in black india ink on a white drawing paper and photographs are pasted on standard typing paper.

Let us especially mention tables, which are almost always present in reports on sociological studies. A great variety of mathematical tables have appeared with the application of mathematical methods in sociology. Each table should have a heading, such as "Education of Young Workers at the Serp i Molot Plant as of 1 January 1986" or "Relative Data on Vocational Guidance of 1986 Graduates of Moscow Schools Nos 101 and 214." Consecutive numbering of items

is avoided in a table. A table must be included in the text after its initial mention. If it is longer than a single page it may be continued on the following page (or pages) without repeating the headings but identified as "continuation of Table 2.3" if it is numbered. In repeated references to the same table its heading is not indicated. Instead, we write "see Table 2.3." In the case of a single unnumbered table in the text, the reference is "see table" (give its title) and the page on which it is to be found.

Such are the basic requirements concerning the content and processing of scientific report on the results of sociological studies. These rules must not be violated. A substandard and incorrectly drawn-up report cannot be included in the overall body of scientific information. A rejection of the state registration of the report is an irreplaceable waste of sociological work.

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## SCIENTIFIC LIFE

### PEOPLE'S NEEDS AS A SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to pres 14 Jan 86) pp 162-163

[Report by L. V. Babayeva and B. A. Babin]

[Text] The all-union practical science conference, held in October 1985 in Belgorod, dealt with the study of material, spiritual, and social needs. It was sponsored by the USSR Philosophical Society, the USSR Academy of Science's Institute of Philosophy, and the Belgorod Pedagogical Institute imeni M. S. Olminskiy.

N. V. Garmashov, Belgorod CPSU obkom secretary, opened the meeting. He mentioned the great assistance that scientists have rendered to the party workers in the ideological education of the working people. Evaluating the contemporary level of sociophilosophical analysis of needs in various fields of knowledge, Dr of Philosophical Sciences, V. A. Malinin, vice-president of the USSR Philosophical Society, drew the attention of those present to such topics as the necessity of a historical approach, the consideration of knowledge previously accumulated and the study of spiritual as well as unreasonable needs (such as acquisitiveness and drunkenness.) Dr of Philosophical Sciences A. V. Margulis (Moscow) addressed his report to the problems that arise during the integration of research topics. He examined general, specific, and individual levels of analysis, emphasized the heuristic possibilities of understanding needs as expressions of the contradiction between the objectively necessary parameters of existence in living and social systems and of actual possibilities. On an individual level desires are determined by the spiritual atmosphere of the subject, manifested as interests, goals, motives, aspirations, and wishes. These can be studied empirically. In the opinion of Dr of Philosophical Sciences L. A. Zelenov (Gorkiy,) the philosophical analysis of these desires should include the study of people's abilities.

Challenging the dual-element variant (need - ability,) Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. N. Sagatovskiy (Simferopol) proposed his own approach, based on the evaluation of needs, abilities, and predilections, which were presented as important attitudes which fulfilled the function of the selection among a host of needs and opportunities of satisfying them. The shaping of a consumption



culture, the speaker said, is based on molding key values, and the socialist ideal of consumption.

F. V. Sadykov, dr of philosophical sciences (Ufa), based his presentation on the essence and criteria of reasonable needs. He mentioned that those needs are reasonable, which are objectively necessary for a worthy human life, consistent with the achieved level of social progress and which can be met with actions consistent with the standards of the socialist way of life. The shaping of reasonable needs means teaching man to be spiritually rich, to strive for self-development, and to transform social mores into personal ones. Those needs, the satisfaction of which deteriorates the living environment, and damages people's moral and physical health, must be considered unreasonable.

In the opinion of Dr of Philosophical Sciences A. M. Arzamastsev (Magnitogorsk,) value judgments of the "reasonable" or "unreasonable" type cannot be applied to desires, since they arise objectively and not for reasons of mental delusions, as the Enlighteners in the 17th - 18th centuries and the utopian communists thought. The evaluations of "reasonable - unreasonable" are applicable only to the means of satisfying needs. These evaluations are of a class nature. They reflect the fullness of the correlation of the consumer attitudes of an individual, social group, or class, and the fundamental interest of society: building communism. If the consumer behavior of the individual corresponds to the most fundamental interests of society, the means of satisfying his needs can be considered reasonable.

The law of "social comparison," brought to light by scientists, has a decisive influence on the shaping of needs. V. Z. Rogovin, dr of philosophical sciences (Moscow), proved that in conformity with that law people value the level of prosperity they have achieved not in terms of absolute standards but relative to the material status of other individuals and social groups. In the comparison process complex metamorphoses of normal consciousness arise as a result of which concepts are set down about what is necessary and "supernecessary," and about the sufficiency or limited nature of the good things in life. Not every increase in need is consistent with its actual importance. An uncontrolled change in the later can lead along a socially undesirable path, can contain a feature of irrationality and show up in the one-sided development of material demands, which suppresses the spiritual and moral motivations and requirements of the individual. A lack of understanding in the reasonable use of increased material opportunities leads to a loss of the sense of moderation among part of the population, and to a reviving of mercantile morals and customs. In this connection, the issue of socially acceptable differentiation in the area of prosperity becomes particularly relevant. An active governmental policy of redistribution, and optimizing the correlation between free and paid forms of satisfying needs for housing and social services can substantially strengthen the influence of social factors on the formation of these needs. Associates of the Ye. Ya. Nazarchuk and L. V. Markelova group related the results of the research conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI group on the subject of "Social Aspects of the Shaping of Needs."

P.E. Yarve (Tallin,) candidate of philosophical sciences used projection methods in researching needs. He described three types of social comparison: diachronic (present-day situation of the individual or group compared with the past,) synchronic (contemporary situation compared with other groups,) and projected (current situation with an anticipated condition in the future.) The later method, Yarve considers, is the most productive in the strategy of molding the man of the future.

School and VUZ teachers participated in round-table discussions on the inculcation of sensible needs. They all agreed that theoretical vagueness adversely affects youth education. The demands placed on science are extremely extensive in that area. Why is it, for example, that among students of pedagogical VUZs the least favorite subject is education? There is another side to the matter. According to Novosibirsk data, 70 percent of the teachers do not like children and do not want to work in school. How could such a situation occur? Dr of Philosophical Sciences L. A. Zelenov suggested a new approach to the development of pedagogical theory, the essence of which is that it is necessary not to "force," but to "persuade" one to master a body of knowledge, or a particular line of behavior. Dr of Pedagogical Sciences V.I. Pirogov (Ulyanovsk) spoke of the formation of stable needs among school children, particularly in sociopolitical activities. Dr of Pedagogical Sciences I. P. Prokopyev (Belgorod) proposed an interesting classification of the negative factors that influence the formation of young people's needs. Dr of Psychological Sciences S. Khalskaya (Opole, Poland) related the results of empirical research on school influence on shaping the social roles of school children.

Participants in the round-table meeting on molding and increasing the needs of the contemporary working class met at the Belgorod Vitamin Combine imeni 50-Letiya SSSR. Enterprise workers and managers, and party, Komsomol and union activists took part in the discussions. Combine Director G. V. Savchenko spoke of the experience in solving social problems at the combine, and on the work of the plant sociologists.

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## INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS

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(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 163 - 165

[Report by Yu.R. Roshchin, G.A. Slesarev]

[Text] What is the nature of the social disparities between town and country? How can they be overcome, while preserving the most attractive features of rural life? How to prevent that which is valuable and promising from being "overcome" during the rapprochement between town and country? What are the general features and characteristics of the rural social structure in various socialist countries?

These and other issues were discussed by the participants at the regular annual meeting of the 3rd "Sociology of the Peasantry and Village" International Working Group within the framework of the "Social Processes in Socialist Society" Problem Commission for Multilateral Cooperation Among Academies of Sciences of Socialist Countries. The current, fifth meeting was conducted in Kishinev.

The group's purpose is to hold theoretical discussions on the results of studying the village as a sociospatial community, and to study the social structure and way of life of the rural population in socialist bloc countries. Rural sociologists from seven countries did not come to their regular meeting empty handed. The anthology "Evolutsiya Krestyanstva Sotsialisticheskikh Stran v Poslevoyenny Period" [Evolution of the Peasantry in Socialist Countries in the Postwar Period] (1984) and books under the general heading "Derevnya i Krestyanstvo Sotsialisticheskikh Stran" [Countryside and Peasantry in Socialist Countries] (Issue No 1, 1984; issues 2 and 3, 1985) had come out meanwhile.

The participants discussed the reports of the members of the national delegations on "Lessening the Social Disparities Between Town and Country and Prospects for Rural Development." Their main conclusions: reducing social disparities between town and country will not mean the elimination of the village as a social-settlement form of organizing people's daily activities.

Short-term and long-range prospects for developing the village, and ways of bringing it closer to the city were brought to light in detail in Dr of Philosophical Sciences V.I. Staroverov's report. The point of view that the rapprochement between town and country could come about only by the simple resettlement of small farmsteads, and small, medium and even large villages into city-like settlements or small towns, able of providing the inhabitants with the necessary utilities and services, has become widespread among Soviet sociologists in recent years. However, the proponents of this point of view do not know the future needs of the new settlers; they do not question whether such agrocities are capable of providing the necessary variety of productive functions to the village under the modern conditions of the social division of labor, and effectively supporting the formation of a homogeneous social environment and the establishment of a unified way of life.

Surveys testify to the high degree of satisfaction of agrocities new settlers with the housing, lifestyle, the trade and service sector, conditions for educating and raising children, etc. Concerning production, the distance to fields and farms, and the low level of technical support for the local industry enterprises evoke more censures among them than among the inhabitants of small settlements. Many settlers are displeased by the small opportunities for developing private auxiliary plots.

The majority of agrocities were built 10 to 15 years ago. Studies have shown that satisfaction with living conditions is much higher there among the recent new settlers, than among the "old residents." This is understandable: the new settler primarily compares the nonproductive sphere of life at the new place with what there was previously. An old resident thinks about what he does not have in relation to the inhabitants of large cities and what he lost in leaving the village. For example, he realizes that he has lost not only the previous opportunities former conditions for LPKh, but also the contacts with former fellow-villagers, relatives and friends, who were very important to him, and who have moved elsewhere.

Thus there is an objective social need to reproduce the village as a relatively independent system on a new contemporary basis. This does not contradict the future integration of town and country, since this concerns the dialectical interconnection and transfer from one to the other of the vertical and horizontal processes of the functioning and development of sociohomogenous subsystems (the city and the village) within the framework of the over-all system.

The proponents of village urbanization, who support the concept of overcoming the essential disparity between town and country by transforming village settlements into small towns, rapidly formed the opinion, that what that means in practice is the "disappearance of the village." In reality a restructuring of the settlement form of habitation does not lead to an automatic change in the village socioeconomic, socioclass, and sociodemographic structure; it does not fundamentally change the sociospatial form of activity and communication. Presently there are no bases to speak of the "disappearance of the village." One could discuss either the city settlement type of habitation (small town or agroindustrial center) with its strong village atmosphere, which dominates

the urban elements in terms of city planning and partially housing construction.

The members of the Bulgarian delegation, V. Kozhukharova and M. Draganova, delivered their report on the lessening of the social disparities between town and country in Bulgaria, and on the basic problems and trends of that process. The priority of industrial labor, and the lessening attractiveness of agricultural labor became the cause of mass migration from the countryside. The destruction of the ecological balance, brought on by the advance of industry into rural areas, the construction of dachas etc. also contributed to that. The basic path for further developing the Bulgarian village is the intelligent use of its internal resources, which supports the reproduction of the village's integral structure: broadening the material-technical base, the increased skills of village workers, and limiting migration.

In the People's Republic of Hungary, G. Lengyel, said in his report, the traditional contradictions between town and country have disappeared. The leading role of the city is manifested to a considerably lesser extent today than previously. The city, like the village, has its own specific functions. The city itself needs further development, and it is the village that is speeding this process up to a measurable extent. There takes place, as it were, its self-replication. However, currently in Hungary, new contradictions have arisen, between large and small villages. There is an inequality of opportunities of their development, and a lagging of the social behind the industrial infrastructure.

F. Kolbush and V. Dzun analyzed the problems that arise in relations between large-scale and small-scale production in the Polish rural economy. It was noted that the number private farmers has increased. There are regional differences in the development of individual village areas.

V. Constantinescu examined issues of modernization of the Romanian village, and "neoruralism" as a way of life. The modernization of the village, in his opinion, is not limited to changes of a technological and ecological nature; it includes an entire set of social problems.

K. Krambach and S. Muller outlined a theoretical concept of the rapprochement between town and country in socialist countries and gave their impressions on the prospects of developing rural areas in the German Democratic Republic.

In Hungary and Czechoslovakia, where the social infrastructure is well developed, and the distance between settlements is insignificant, and where towns are by and large small whereas villages are sizable, the problem of lessening the social disparity between town and country is being handled differently than, let's say, in Poland or Romania. In certain countries the rural population has higher living standards than urban residents (such as size of income.) However, the lagging of the village behind the town is a universal fact, leading to spontaneous migration to the city.

F. Tanasescu (SRR), V. Baukh (CzSSR) and Soviet sociologists I.T. Levykin, A.I. Timush, G.S. Entelis, N.A. Pobeda, N.V. Tsurkanu and others also participated in the discussion.

A working group discussed and approved a program of cooperative international sociological research "Peasantry and the Village in Socialist Countries" (author - V.I. Staroverov.) The contradictions between the policy of improving the social organization of the village towards a greater homogeneity, common for socialist countries, and the actual continuing social inequality between its structural elements, and also the village's lagging behind the city in production, culture and life style of the population are defined as research problems. The subject of the study is the social reproduction of the modern socialist village, the contradictions in its functioning and development and the factors that assist and hinder the formation of social homogeneity. It is particularly important to study the changes in social structure of the village population, to identify its social composition, and the nature and interaction among individual elements and their role in the village's functioning and development. The general research task is to find out the factors which determine the preservation of social disparity, and which ones reinforce social integration, and correspondingly, the type of steps which must be taken to stimulate integration processes.

The participants discussed the working group's plans. It was taken into consideration that in the future it will function as a subgroup of "The dynamics of Social Structure of Socialist Society." Two monographs will be prepared: in 1986/87, "The Village Under Socialism: Theory and Practice of Development;" in 1989/90, "The Social Structure and Way of Life of the Village in European Socialist Countries."

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## SOCIAL INFLUENCE ON DEMOGRAPHIC BEHAVIOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 165-167

[Report by L.V. Makarova, A.B. Sinelnikov and L.S. Shilova]

[Text] An international practical science conference on the effectiveness of social influence on demographic behavior was held in Vilnyus, under the auspices of the USSR AN ISI and the LiSSR State Committee for Labor. A. Chesnavichyus, deputy chairman, LiSSR Council of Ministers, who opened the conference, spoke on the achievements of the republic in socioeconomic and scientific and cultural progress and discussed the most important demographic problems.

The speakers noted the difficulties of managing demographic processes, above all in countries whose policies are aimed at encouraging the birthrate (the USSR and the European socialist countries). Even the most extensive steps yield short-time results, Dr of Economic Sciences L.L. Rybakovskiy emphasized, for they are taken without a proper scientific base. Demography must turn to the profound study of the needs, motivations, concepts and social standards, for mass processes can be influenced only by changing reproduction, "self-preservation" and migration behavior. An effort to provide such comprehensive consideration of demographic problems was made at the conference.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences A.I. Antonov drew the attention of the participants to the importance of studying the population's "self-preservation" behavior, i.e., the behavior related to leading a healthy life of specified length. Determining its models adopted by the various sociodemographic groups is a topical task of sociological demography. Dr of Medical Sciences M.S. Bednyy noted the connection between "self-preservation" behavior and the country's demographic situation: a bad situation makes for poor health. This view was illustrated in L.I. Remennik's presentation: the probability of female morbidity increases as the number of children in the family becomes limited.

Modern medicine can influence the state of the population's health by no more than 10-15 percent, M.S. Bednyy noted. Health is affected above all by living conditions and the type of the people's attitude toward it. Nevertheless, of all types of demographic behavior "self-preservation" has been the least

studied. Initially, Candidate of Economic Sciences A.A. Avdeyev and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V.M. Medkov suggested, "self-preservation" indicators could be structured by analogy with reproduction indicators, and questions relative to the need for "self-preservation behavior and differences in the concepts of men and women, the healthy and the sick, and the young and the old could be answered. It is also necessary to study the demographic and sociopsychological features of people subject to various risk factors, such as smoking, adynamia, hypertonia, etc.

Several speakers discussed the work of the health-care agencies and population-assistance services they set up. Dr of Medical Sciences Ch.S. Grizitskas spoke on theoretical problems of the "suicide-study center" and the "trust service." She drew the attention of the participants in the conference on problems of patient rehabilitation. Many of them die before their physical and psychological strength has been exhausted, for which reason a patient-rehabilitation service should be created to help them resume their family, professional and social roles. Candidate of Economic Sciences V.I. Perevedentsev analyzed the system of the population's organized rest, which he considers ineffective since, according to his computations, one-third of the working population does not enjoy full-value recreation.

Students of "self-preservation" behavior must identify the actual behavioral types and determine the models considered optimal from the viewpoint of the interests of the individual and society. An equally difficult problem is that of popularizing optimal models among the broad population masses. A number of speakers indicated, in this connection, the underdeveloped nature of the sociological service in the health-care system, and the low level of health-education propaganda of a healthy way of life.

Candidate of Economic Sciences V.A. Borisov opened the debate on reproductive behavior. He emphasized that social control of this type of behavior should ensure an increased number of children in the family, from one-two to three or four. So far the steps taken in the area of Soviet demographic policy have influenced only the satisfaction of the needs of the majority of the population based on two-children families, without enhancing the need itself. Without denying the need for reaching an average number of children, many of the conference's participants considered this task unrealistic. Dr of Economic Sciences A.G. Vishnevskiy, for example, noted that the ways leading to having an average number of children are still unknown. Candidate of Economic Sciences A.G. Volkov noted that if a family finds it difficult to raise one or two children it would be useless to ask of it to have a third.

In explaining the reasons for the predominance of small families, Dr of Philosophical Sciences A.A. Petrov pointed out the contradiction between the social and individual (family) need for children. V. Vukotic (Yugoslavia) pointed out changes in the role of children in the family, from assistants to "dependents" as a result of the parents' desire to help them acquire higher education. Candidate of Economic Sciences L.Ye. Darskiy believes that from the point of view of the internal interests of the contemporary nuclear family with two working spouses, the optimal number of children is one or two. If this situation is to be changed the very conditions of life of this family must be changed. In particular, society must recognize that the mother of



three or four children may not have to have a job. However, as Candidate of Economic Sciences L.A. Lyubitskaya emphasized, such a strategy in demographic policy is possible only in a society the economic potential of which allows it to give up a certain percentage of female labor.

In formulating steps for converting families to an average number of children, Candidate of Economic Sciences N.V. Zvereva pointed out, all positive and negative aspects of such families must be studied. In this connection, Candidate of Economic Sciences S.I. Islamov reported that according to data based on sociological studies conducted in Tajikistan, the children there are needed by their parents as assistants in household work and for cultivating the private auxiliary plot.

Another topic of discussion was that of traditional steps in the area of demographic policy: benefits and facilities offered to families with children. Although the main purpose of demographic policy is to encourage the birth of a third and fourth child, many of the speakers expressed the view that such steps must begin with the first child.

An interesting suggestion was made by I. Holtzer (Poland): Society must not only assist families with an average number of children but also guarantee them a certain minimal living standard based on the concepts of the specific society.

In addition to the number of children in a family, problems of their "quality" were discussed as well: state of health, intellectual development, etc. Candidate of Economic Sciences M.R. Buriyeva pointed out that in Central Asia, where there are large families, the children in many of them are as healthy and as successful in their studies as all others. According to Lithuanian sociologists children from small families learn better but are more difficult to educate, for which reason from the educational viewpoint as well families with an average number of children are preferable.

Contraception was discussed as a variety of reproductive behavior. All speakers noted the low cultural standard of contraceptive behavior, manifested not only in the imperfect nature of ways and means of contraception most popular in our country, but also the lack of proper knowledge of even such facilities by some people, young people in particular.

In the discussion of migration behavior speakers noted the need to study the formation of migration concepts, providing information on living conditions in the new places and determining the needs which migrants would like to satisfy, the reasons for which they are unwilling to remain home and what is the purpose of their migration. Some such needs, V. Zlatanova (Bulgaria) noted, have been traditionally studied until now mainly by economists. In Bulgaria, however, according to research data, economic reasons play the most important role only among low-income migrants, whereas socioeconomic and spiritual values are considered more important among those who are better off.

Candidate of Economic Sciences L.V. Korel believes that the social prestige of migration areas plays an important role among the social standards governing migration behavior. Social standards, including informal rules and

traditions, influence not only the move itself but its reasons. Whereas rural migrants in the RSFSR frequently explain their move to the city with the desire to live away from their parents, in Central Asia, where family ties are stronger, this is one of the least important reasons. Local tradition even frowns upon rural girls going to school in the city. Naturally, this influences the sex structure of migrants.

V. Mirovsky (Poland) suggested that migration behavior should be considered a variety of "self-preservation:" the migrants aspire for better living conditions. The trends of migration flows, irrational from the social viewpoint, were analyzed by Candidate of Geographic Sciences S.K. Vaytekunas and other speakers. Social steps to restrict migrations, of a legal (limiting residence rights in large cities) or economic (regional wage supplements) nature do not always yield the required results, for they ignore both the interests of the migrants and the manpower needs of large cities.

In the view of many of those present, stopping the flow from country to town is not enough. This flow must be reversed. In order for a significant percentage of migrants, who have become poorly adapted to city life, to return it is necessary not only to change living conditions in the countryside but also to uproot traditional concepts which view "returnees" as failures, and to enhance the prestige of rural labor.

In this connection the paper submitted by K.A. Katus was of great interest: Since the start of the 1980 there has been noted in the Estonian SSR not only a return of former migrants to their villages but also the resettling of native city dwellers in the countryside. The experience in the socioeconomic development of rural settlements in that republic deserves a close study.

The conference helped to reach a unanimous view on a number of theoretical and practical problems which had been previously topics of fierce arguments, particularly concerning the purposes of social influence on reproductive behavior. Let us hope that in the near future sociological research data will be extensively used in the formulation of corresponding measures in the field of demographic policy.

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## SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION AMONG DEMOGRAPHERS FROM THE USSR AND FINLAND

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 167 - 169

[Report by S. S. Karinskiy]

[Text] A Soviet-Finnish demographers seminar took place in Riga, sponsored by the AN SSSR Sociological Research Institute and the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute. The first such meeting of the scientists (Helsinki, 1983) was devoted to general issues of the demographic development of the two countries. The theme of the second seminar was the regional aspects of demographic processes in the USSR and Finland.

Vice-President of the Latvian SSR Academy A. Drizul, welcomed the participants. He emphasized the importance of strengthening Soviet-Finnish scientific contacts in the field of demographics, and expressed the hope that they would be long-term and regular.

Finnish delegate M. Nieminen delivered a paper at the first session. Having defined the demographic situation in Finland as typical of industrially developed countries, he stated that the falling birthrate and the aging of the population were particularly characteristic for the industrialized south, to where the inhabitants of the northern provinces are moving as a result of chronic manpower surpluses which resulted from a decline of traditional industries. The very same reason forces many Finns to go abroad in search of work, primarily in Sweden. In his report, A. Vishnevskiy analyzed regional features of Soviet demographic development. These were caused primarily by the fact that the conversion from traditional to modern types of population reproduction does not develop synchronically in various parts of the country. Particularly evident were regional differences in the birthrate. Thus, in 1978 the average number of children in a Ukrainian family was 2.02, compared to 4.23 in Azerbaijan and 5.32 in Tajikistan. Mortality rate and longevity indicators differ to a significantly lesser extent. In Vishnevskiy's opinion, that can be explained by the fact that during a demographic revolution a new mortality rate can become established quicker than a new birthrate. The new tendencies of interregional migration which were first noticed in the mid-1970s, particularly the significant positive balance of migration to the RSFSR and the negative balance in the republics of Central Asia and in Kazakhstan

are among the progressive phenomena characteristic of the current demographic situation.

Problems related to marriage and birthrate were discussed at the second session. F. Finnes, who specializes in the study of the Swedish population living in Finland (in 1980 there were more than 300,000 people of Swedish origin living in Finland), examined the characteristics of the demographic development of this ethnic group. A lower level of birth- and marriage rate, and a greater frequency of common-law marriages is characteristic for this group. The speaker also noted that whereas the language barrier had previously hindered mixed marriages, the number of mixed marriages (including people of Swedish origin) is now increasing.

Estonian researchers A. Kuddo and K. Laas submitted a thorough report on the trends of family, marriage, and birthrate development in Estonia from the turn of the century on. Many modern demographic behavioral features of the republic's population: late marriages, relatively widespread cohabitation, and a birthrate which does not provide for simple reproduction, had already developed by the 1930s. And, although today a certain stabilization in marriage and birthrates may be noted, the level of the latter remains too low, which in itself leads to the threat of depopulation. Therefore, the issue of how to develop measures to positively influence the demographic behavior of the population still stands prominently on the agenda.

A lively discussion unfolded on the evolution of family forms. T. Valkonen, and A. Mayava, on the Finnish side, and S. Golod on the Soviet, agreed that the changes taking place presently in the traditional type of family, in attitudes, and in tendencies related to marriage and familial behavior, are still far from their completion in even the most demographically advanced countries. This process cannot be evaluated only from individual negative manifestations (such as the higher divorce rate, the increased number of children born out of wedlock, and the high frequency of broken families.) Further scientific research is necessary to gain a better understanding of such changes.

How does the production activity of women affect their reproductive tendencies? P. Keynänen, in answering that question, pointed out that the extra-familial activity of the woman hinders the raising of children increasingly less. However, regional studies indicate that combining work with care for the children is easier under rural rather than urban conditions. As a rule, a country woman in Finland with two children will not stop working. When the third child appears, that also does not mandatorily mean that she will stay at home. In the city the main obstacle in combining professional activity with household work is the problem of daytime child care. And although the system of preschool nurseries was widely expanded in Finland in the last decade, the problem has in no way been definitively resolved. P. Keynänen also said that family and work orientation vary among women belonging to different social strata.

P. Eglite, who described Latvian scientific research on the influence of women's extrafamilial activities on the number of children, emphasized that according to some data the majority of women support the idea of a nonextended

(1 - 1.5 years) leave of absence after births, with subsequent part-time work for the next several years.

Population aging and its social consequences were among the important problems discussed at the seminar. Finnish demographer S. Koskinen noted in his report that by the year 2020 the proportion of elderly people (over 64) will almost double compared to the present, reaching 21 percent of the total population, while the number of children under 15 will drop during that same period correspondingly from 19 to 15 percent. Such shifts in the demographic structure will require a reorganization of the network of medical institutions, and the development of new forms of care for the elderly. In Koskinen's opinion, ambulatory aid, and various forms of nonspecialized (nonmedical) service - service homes, mobile kitchens etc. are the most promising.

Soviet scientists D. Valentey, A. Kvasha, I. Kalinyuk, and V. Yelizarov informed the participants of the measures which were developed and introduced in our country to prevent premature aging, and the creation of pleasant work and living conditions for older people. Among the promising nonstationary forms of service for the elderly are home visitation, geriatric offices at polyclinics, etc. The participants were in full agreement that neither in the USSR nor Finland would it be possible to expect in the upcoming years a noticeable change in the existing birthrate, for which reason the aging process of the population in both countries will continue.

On the last day of the seminar the participants were presented for discussion reports on problems of migration, urbanization and regional aspects of demographic policies. T. Valkonen dealt in detail with the migration situation in the area of Greater Helsinki, which includes four cities with a combined population of over 700,000. The capital is the main center of attraction of the migration flows within Finland. However, in recent years this role has somewhat weakened Helsinki, which is in many ways related to the economic depression the country is experiencing. Valkonen paid particular attention to inner-city transference distinguishing between the housing mobility of newly formed households and the resulting moves. For an inhabitant of Greater Helsinki the likelihood of this occurring is 8 percent for the first, and 30 percent for the second.. A definite dependence of inner city mobility on the growth in the numbers of people moving has been discovered. The most mobile are people between the ages of 20 and 25 with preschool children. From approximately eight moves in the course of a lifetime, about half will take place within a period lasting from 16 to 34 years.

L. Rybakovskiy's report on interrepublic migrations in the USSR, and particularly on the problem of the adaptability of migrants in newly populated areas was received with great interest. V. Oyala analyzed issues on the regional demographic development of Finland, emphasizing that one of the basic tasks facing management and planning organizations is improving the demographic situation in the northern and eastern parts of the country, i. e. in economically underdeveloped areas, from where, as previously, there is an outflow of young people. The P. Zvidrinsh's topic was the use of the target-program approach to the implementation of the regional demographic policy in the LaSSR. Here for the first time in the country the development of a

republic-wide goal-oriented, integrated program was undertaken. The program, "The Population of the Latvian SSR in 1986 - 2000," is aimed at promoting optimal qualitative and quantitative reproduction of the population.

The seminar proved the existence of a number of scientific problems--mortality, aging, birthrate prospects, and migration--which are of particular interest to both sides, and which call for further research. The conditions for holding a third joint meeting to be held in Finland in 1987 were agreed upon.

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MEETING OF THE REGIONAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD  
FEDERATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 169-171

[Report by A. G. Kharchev]

[Text] The International Planned Parenthood Federation (MFPR) is the largest nongovernmental organization in the world, rallying the respective national associations of 108 countries with advisory status at the UN Economic and Social Council, steadily cooperating with the UNESCO World Health Organization, the UN Children's Foundation and the UN Population Foundation.

According to its charter, the MFPR has the following objectives: 1) cooperate in the education of the world's population on issues of family planning and responsible parenthood; 2) protect the mental and physical health of parents, children and young people by assisting in the development of effective national family planning services; 3) familiarize the public with national and worldwide demographic problems; 4) stimulate scientific research on all aspects of the birthrate and its control and inform the public of the results.

All MFPR work is done through its regional organizations. Each one of these has its own managing council headed by an elected president and vice-president, and its own permanent secretariat, headed by a full-time director. It is divided into the following regions: Europe, Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and Oceania, the Western Pacific Zone, North America and Latin America.

The European regional organization (MFPR-Europe) includes the national associations of 20 countries including six socialist countries. The activity of this organization is distinguished by a generally progressive trend. The council's charter stipulates that one of the main conditions for membership is the nonparticipation of an association or its representative in discriminatory "policy related to race, religion, skin color, political convictions, or sex." The council stands up for peace and the strengthening of peaceful relations between governments. As the representative from Holland announced at one of the last meetings of the regional council, "We must constantly struggle against neo-Malthusian tendencies, not avoid political discussions and emphasize the decisive role of socioeconomic factors... Any family planning

activity without a struggle for peace is senseless." At the same meeting, a resolution was adopted by a vast majority of votes requiring the "unconditional rejection of the production, strategic planning for and use of all types of neutron weaponry."

Although there is actually no uniformity among the individual national planned parenthood associations, on the whole a socialist approach to family and marital issues is predominant for "MFPR-Europe." The regional organization is interested in study and cooperation in finding a practical solution to problems of protecting motherhood and childhood, preparing young people for marriage and family life, the protection of migrant workers, educating the population on the psychosexual aspects of family life, etc.

The main thrust of the national associations of socialist countries belonging to "MFPR-Europe" is reflected in their names: "Council on Family Development" (Bulgaria,) the Scientific Society "Family and the Well-being of Women" (Hungary,) "Marriage and Family" (GDR,) "Fellowship for Family Development" (Poland,) the "Family Planning and Parent Enlightenment" section of the Czechoslovak Sexological Society, and the "Family Planning Council" (Yugoslavia).

The main items on the agenda of the 14th meeting of "MFPR - Europe" Regional Council (May 1985, Paris), attended by a Soviet representative as an observer, were: 1) the Regional Executive Committee's report for the years 1984 - 1985 (the Executive Committee coordinates "MFPR-Europe" activity in the intervals between regional council meetings; 2) discussion of the scientific results of international research studies conducted within the framework of "MFPR-Europe" in the 1980s.

Let us discuss the second item in greater detail. The report on "Planned Parenthood in Europe From the Point of View of Human Rights: the 1980s" is a generalized scientific history of the problem and its current situation. It states that the birth control movement began within the framework of feminism. The further growth of the movement, and attempts on the national level to obtain the support of society, specialists and governments led to a change in its name. "Birth Control" gave way to "Family Planning" (1930s.) Besides being more attractive, the term "Family" also shifted the emphasis on the goal of planning children's time of birth with the help of contraceptive devices, rather than simply preventing their birth. In 1952, when the International Planned Parenthood Federation was created, that term was already officially being used as a symbol, in the spirit of the rights and obligations of man, that issues of reproduction are issues of social and sexual behavior, the results of which exceed the structural bounds of the traditional family.

In May 1983 at the second meeting of the Regional Work Group conducting this research, items were approved defining the status of Planned Parenthood. The main points were the government's recognition of man's right to determine the time of birth and the number of children; protection of the family and the child; availability of means and services for family planning; publication and distribution of family-planning literature; treatment of infertility; and sexual education and preparation for family life.



The report emphasized that even with the absence of an openly proclaimed population policy or clear demographic problems, the government usually has a great deal of influence on decisions made by the individual in relation to family size. An example of this is Great Britain, where "neutrality" officially exists on the population issue. Previously that country [r]acted an economic policy that equalized opportunities (for obtaining housing and household appliances, etc.) in the competition between the traditional two-child family and a childless married couple. This was achieved via differentiated taxes and the allocation of aid. However, the "limitations in expenditures on social needs, which began in the mid-1970s mean that families with children are finding it increasingly difficult to compete with childless families every year. The curtailment of education training and the reduced capital and current expenditures on education, public health, and housing construction had the direct influence on lowering the birthrate. Under such conditions the birth control motivations becomes very strong."

The results of regional research on measures for helping adolescents with the problem of interrelations between the sexes were included in the second report discussed at this meeting. So far consultative centers have been opened in the following countries: Great Britain (1963) Hungary (1974) Sweden (1975) Holland (1976) France (1977) and Poland (1982, Warsaw Youth Clinic) and in Italy (1983). The British Family Planning Association in organized a new consultation service for underprivileged youth in 1971..

The issue of providing sex education in the schools was included in this study, the organizers of such consultations in most countries having had to deal with this very contradictory and difficult problem.

The third report dealt with the results of studying organizations and individuals who comprise planned parenthood's opposition. The reports indicated that the nucleus of this opposition was the Catholic church and the Right to Life movement in Italy, France, Portugal, and the FRG. The opposition actively speaks against sex education, abortion, and contraception. In its propaganda materials it affirms that sex education supposedly promotes sexual experimentation, premature sexual activity, and promiscuity, leads to more premarital pregnancies, undermines the parents authority and the value of the family, and spoils and perverts children's mental development. In the opinion of its opponents, abortion is unlawful, since it is actual murder and represents a risk for the mental and physical health of the woman. Finally, from the opposition's point of view, contraception is harmful, for it is unnatural, contradicts the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, leads to promiscuity and abortions, promotes a falling birthrate, and inflates the pharmaceutical companies' profits, and the revenue of private doctors. Certain contraceptives can represent a physical and mental threat to the health of both women and men; "imperfect people and socially underprivileged groups abuse" it. In resisting this type of propaganda, "MFPR-Europe" proceeds on the basis of local conditions and relies on modern science.

The 1986-1988 regional research studies plans, and particularly the "Management of Sex Education in School" project ( understood here in the broad sense and includes: information on sex issues, education and

preparation for family life and marriage, the study of human interrelations, demographic information, etc.) were considered at the Paris meeting.

The European regional research studies have shown that further improvement of sex education is necessary. This issue is difficult to research both for political and ideological reasons. The problems begin with the creation of a methodology, appropriate for a particular goal, within the limits of the means and possibilities the region has at its disposal. The project is intended to be implemented in four interrelated stages, each of which subsequently faces increasingly complex tasks.

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## SHAPING THE STUDENT'S PERSONALITY

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(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 171-172

[Report by A. A. Kozlov]

[Text] An all-union methodical science conference was held in Leningrad on basic trends in the development of the modern student's personality and on summing up VUZ experience in the communist education of future specialists.

V. I. Korzhov, Leningrad CPSU obkom secretary, opened the conference. He spoke of the need for major restructuring of the system of higher education, and expressed critical remarks concerning the VUZ party organizations. G. G. Kvasov, director of the USSR Ministry of Education Main Administration for Teaching the Social Sciences, thoroughly analyzed topical tasks in the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of personality. He characterized in detail the key issues in improving communist education and preparing future specialists, in light of the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) and April (1985) Plenums.

Ye.A. Yakub's speech covered a broad range of theoretical and applied aspects of sociological research of the process of molding the student's personality. She described some results of the Kharkov sociologists' study of young specialists' activities and the VUZ's influence on their structure.

M.Kh. Titma dealt with the relevant issues of shaping the moral temperament of the modern student. He informed the participants in detail about the results of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History's wide-scale research projects. V. T. Lisovskiy presented the results of many years of research and experiments. He also touched on a number of problems related to the practical application of sociological recommendations in VUZs.

The conference split into five sections. In the first section the issue of the criteria and typology of the student's personality was vigorously discussed. The speakers justly emphasized the danger of structuring a typology based on isolated and insignificant features, since that kind of typology detracts from the essence of the processes that guide the development of a future specialist's personality, and leads to a loss of the fundamental criteria by which a distinction is established between the socialist and bourgeois type personalities. The second section dealt mostly with the issues

of molding the outlook and political standards of students through the study of the social sciences. The work of the department of scientific communism was analyzed in particular.

The reports presented at the third section generally dealt with solving the theoretical and practical problems of molding the personality of the future professional. F.R. Filippov's report on students as Soviet intelligentsia's reserve was discussed with great interest. I.P. Yakovlev examined the problems of integrating the higher school with production as a factor of the intensification of the training and education process. On the basis of research and practical experience, I.Ya. Kopylov submitted for discussion information on the need of engineers in the future.

The fourth section dealt mostly with the moral and aesthetic problems of developing the student's personality. Several speakers noted that aesthetic education is sometimes primitive and that the consequent results are often temporary, due to the lack of precise forms of training, reinforced by standardized rules. The work of the fifth section was marked by active VUZ Komsomol participation. The speakers used data from applied research studies, and naturally discussed their quality, and methodological standards. In particular, L. Ya. Rubina described the positive experience of VUZs in the Urals in developing the students' social activeness and professional interest.

The reports by colleagues from brotherly socialist countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Cuba, Poland, and Czechoslovakia), in which various aspects of the training and education of specialists were discussed, were received with great interest.

The conference's work revealed substantial opportunities for optimizing VUZ work in training new generations of specialists.

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#### PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIOLOGY JOURNAL EDITORS FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CONFER

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(singled to press 14 Jan 86) pp 172-173

[Text] The conference took place in Budapest in October 1985. Vietnamese scientists participated in it for the first time. Hungarian Academician F. Tokei presented the main theoretical report entitled "Socialist Society from a Historical-Philosophical Point to View."

The debates on the report proved the great interest of the conference's participants and the persuasiveness of the idea was that in the course of a socialist nationalization of means of production, possibility arises for workers to create their own free collective association, the initial form of which is a government that should also simultaneously become a people's community.

Some of the ideas in the report were critically assessed. One of them was the claim that "the system of government ownership is already now functioning with great difficulties and interruptions," for which reason it should be replaced by a higher degree of socialization, a "free association of people" etc. Many of the speakers stated that neither the Marxist-Leninist theory, nor the practice of real socialism give any basis directly to relate economic difficulties with government ownership; for ownership (this issue was developed in particular in the works of G. V. Plekhanov) does not determine the condition of the economy directly, but through an aspect of production relations as such organizational technical relations. Neither are there any grounds for pitting government ownership against "the free association of people," since in this case freedom does not appear as an opposite of government, but as a level of its development, as represented by socialist democracy.

Specifying these views, T. Jaroszewski (Poland) pointed out that not only the proponents of "deeper" collectivization of property are against governmental ownership, but also those who operate from positions of anarcho-syndicalism or economic liberalism. A similar situation developed recently in Poland, for example. The leaders of "Solidarity" and KOS-KOR called not for a "privatization" of socialist ownership and a restoration of capitalism, but, using the dissatisfaction of the workers with the bureaucratic methods of

management, called for protecting the so-called public enterprise. What did this mean? First of all, total noninterference by the government in all areas of enterprise activities, the independence of the later in determining the variety of its output, price setting, profit sharing, etc. The abolition of centralized planning, and regulating all enterprise relations through the market place were proposed. This would turn public property into a kind of group private property, and the enterprise into a joint-stock company. One can easily imagine the outcome of such a "transformation." The best equipped enterprises would earn additional profits unrelated to labor. "Holdings" and other forms of exploitation of one enterprise by another would appear.

The economic reform adopted at the 9th PZPR Congress, currently being implemented in Poland, presumes the development of self-management, and the transformation of the workers into true enterprise proprietors. The reform is also based on a firm rejection of "market socialism." In conclusion, T. Jaroszewski emphasized that in seeking means of strengthening the socialist forms of ownership one must take into consideration the experience of the political and ideological struggle in Poland.

At one of the sessions, on the initiative of the Hungarians, the participants exchanged information on activities used in their own countries on the occasion of marking the centennial of D. Lukacs' birth. L. Siklai, member of the Hungarian delegation stated that in 1958 the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party published its directives in the field of cultural politics and education in which the political and theoretical mistakes of Lukacs were sharply criticized. This was justified, for it helped to consolidate the society after the 1956 counterrevolution and was consistent with the party's basic task at that time, which was to formulate a key position, first of all, in the most important global political issues. The judgment of Lukacs' mistakes served primarily as the basis of this criticism. He himself later considered the majority of these mistakes a gross delusion. In 1983 the party found it possible to reexamine, clarify and provide a more differentiated evaluation of Lukacs' legacy. In the new directives on this issue his legacy has been historically analyzed; in evaluating the changes in Lukacs' views, the turning points of historical development reflected in his works, and the complexities of his the life through which he, in his own words, came to Marx and Lenin, were taken into consideration.

The main among the steps taken to celebrate the anniversary was the international conference in Budapest. Its theme alone, "Place and Role of Gyorgy Lukacs in 20th Century Marxist Theory," indicates that the participants were primarily striving to illuminate and analyze Lukacs' creative Marxist work. They did that regardless of their own interpretations which held that Lukacs' most valuable legacy was the works he created in his younger years when, according to them, his thoughts were still not interfering with his communist views. It is, of course, unnecessary to deny the merits of the young Lukacs' work, or the positive features of his book, "Istoriya i Klassovoye Soznaniye" [History and Class Consciousness] however, those merits can be genuinely evaluated only in the light of his creative path as a whole, keeping in mind the direction in which his intellect and outlook developed.

The main practical organizational proposal recorded in the conference's communique, proceeds from the necessity of making the new developments that appear in modern Marxist, philosophical, and social science more available to the readers in socialist countries and to the world community. To this end the publishing of a philosophical and sociological yearbooks in the Russian and English languages was deemed expedient. The most interesting materials published in the corresponding scientific journals (theoretical articles, results of empirical research, social experimentations, results of scientific debates, communications on scientific conferences, reviews, and surveys of publications) would be reprinted in them.

Other practical organizational proposals concerned holding more frequent international meetings (at least annual), debates, and round-table discussions within the framework of a conference or not, on the initiative of various countries' magazine editors, and also topics for scientific theoretical discussions at the next conference in Warsaw. The theme of the conference will be "World Problems and Peaceful Coexistence From the Marxist Perspective of the Historical Process."

During the meeting in Budapest a special session of editors of sociological journals was held on the World Sociological Conference in Delhi.

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## CHRONICLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
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[Text] Reported by G. F. Morozova, Ashkhabad: A seminar on population migration mobility and the redistribution of labor resources of the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus was held in Ashkhabad. The seminar was organized by the Demographics Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI and the Department of Philosophy and Law of the Turkmen SSR AN. Turkmen SSR AN Academician, A. A. Roslyakov, greeted the participants. In their reports and speeches the participants particularly emphasized that the availability of manpower for the economy in many ways depends on how fully the work resources of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus will be used. The growth of the labor potential has outstripped the pace of local economic development in recent years. Steps were outlined at the seminar to increase the migration mobility of the native population both within and outside the republic.

Reported by B. M. Semenov: A conference on "Methodical Issues of Improving the Effectiveness of Enterprise Sociological Services" was held in Kiev. It was organized by the Ukrainian branch of the SSA, Section of Industrial Sociologists, and the UkSSR "Znaniya" Society Economic and Scientific and Technical Propaganda House. The experience acquired in vocational guidance, career choice and personnel adaptation was discussed. The activities of feedback information services ("Your Mood," and "Attention") were examined, the structure of the worker's leisure time was analyzed and the problem of drunkenness and alcoholism received special attention. The activities of enterprise management personnel, and issues related to establishing a pleasant mental climate in the collective were considered in detail.

Reported by D. V. Ryzhkova, Kaluga Oblast: "How to Intensify the Scientist's Work," "Economic Thought--a Social Problem," "What is MZhK?," and "The Journal on the Map of the World," were the headings of the pages of an oral issue of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA presented at the Obninsk House of Scientists. The journal's permanent contributors S.G. Kara-Murza, V.F. Sklyarov, K.A. Ulybin and editorial staff workers A.I. Kravchenko and V.A. Popov, took part in the meeting with readers.

Reported by Ya. S. Kapelyush: A sociological service, involving all sectorial VUZs and scientific institutions has been in operation at the RSFSR Ministry



of Culture since 1984. The Culture Scientific Research Institute was appointed its head organization. A Service Council was been created, headed by Deputy Minister V.V. Kochetkov. The council's members include B.A. Grushin, L.N. Kogan, V.D. Patrushev, F.R. Filippov, and other known sociologists. One of the council's basic tasks is the formulation of research programs and instrumentation, support of methodological and methodic unity of research developments, and the comparison of results. The council pays particular attention to theater, music and the graphic arts, libraries, museums and clubs, and park management. The data is processed at the ministry's Main Computer Center.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### REVIEW ON SOCIAL MANAGEMENT BOOKS PUBLISHED IN LVOV

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
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[Review by N.Yu. Fedorov]

[Text] This is not the first time that Lvov scientists address themselves to problems of social management. The methodical, organizational, information and legal grounds of this process at the contemporary industrial enterprise were considered by them in detail in the 1970s. The books under review discuss problems similar in content but on a broader scope. They will be of interest to the readers because of the theoretical and empirical studies, and problems of controlling the development not only of labor collectives but also the population of the city and the oblast they include. Unlike preceding works, written mainly by the personnel of the Lvov department of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, these works include writings by scientists and practical workers who are head associates of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, the universities in Moscow and Lvov, the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI and a number of other institutes and heads of production associations, enterprises and organizations.

The first collection includes articles on party guidance and the methodology of social management, and regional and enterprise planning practices (1). The second includes works on labor organization and management (2). A separate monograph discusses problems of labor and production discipline (3). The other volumes deal with methods of perfecting the work of local soviets and economic bodies (4-5).

In summing up the practice of utilization of scientific developments in regional management, V.F. Dobrik (1, p 3), V.V. Sekretaryuk (2, p 3) and V.Ye. Lidyuga (4, p 33) analyze the importance of the programs for the social development of the population and practical experience in the development of a regional system for the management of scientific and technical progress, upgrading labor productivity and economy on the oblast scale and eliminating disproportions in urban development.

In discussing the methodological approaches to the problem, V.M. Shepel (1, p 94) substantiates the view that the target of production management includes the totality of social relations within the labor collective, while social

relations in the strict meaning of the term are the target of social management. The latter are interpreted as ideological and superstructural. It is difficult to agree with such distinctions. Actually, this means a separation between the social and the material content of collective life; labor as a process of creating objects is separated from the collective as a system of relations among people. The author converts the worker merely into an object of technical and economic management unrelated to social development. It is only party and public bodies and heads of subdivisions directly involved in work with people who deal with the latter, V.M. Shepel and V.I. Pervak (5) point out. We believe that in this case theory is reflecting practice somewhat simplistically.

In emphasizing the need to optimize the size of the production association, V.A. Rybinok (3, p 59) and Ye.T. Udovichenko (4, p 133), managers of associations in Lvov, suggest that in addition to the head management apparatus, separate regional structural units be established, which would include a scientific and technical center and work on territorial-departmental integration. The authors earmark specific steps to optimize management structures. However, they insufficiently bring to light the advantages of associations in perfecting the professional-skill structure of the personnel and in solving other social problems. Such problems are considered in somewhat greater detail by G.M. Pyzhik (2, p 19). In his view, in order to upgrade the scientific substantiation of the plan for social development, its structure and system of indicators must be improved. Their content, however, is reduced by the author to rationalization and sociopolitical activities, which substantially narrows both the formulation and solution of the problem.

Unlike previous works by Lvov sociologists, the collections under review virtually ignore topical problems of social planning, limiting themselves to a description of existing practices. In our view, indicators of labor activeness and well-being of the population, problems of interaction between production-economic and social planning and the use of progressive management methods should be developed further. As D.N. Tsegelskiy indicates (2, p 55), not only a well-structured plan but a formulation of target programs for social development are important. A systematic approach is a quality of social management, which allows it to provide a more or less complete methodical, organizational, informational and research support. In connection with the problem of information support of management activities, S.T. Guryanov (1, p 83) tries to define the concept of "social information" on the level of the labor collective. However, he treats this problem more briefly and superficially compared to materials already available in scientific works.

Of late scientists have increasingly dealt with problems of combining regional with sectorial planning. In singling out the objectives of regional management, R.R. Mamleyev (4, p 68) believes that such problems can be solved if the basic territorial unit subject to the application of a purposeful socioeconomic policy is converted into an economic rayon. Although noting the need for systematically interrelating the various levels of rayon planning, he somewhat reduces the significance of subordinating departmental to management bodies. Unfortunately, this topical problem is not raised by any other author

in the books under review, many of whom are captains of industry, although this is one of their crucial problems.

The means and methods of selecting economic managers are considered by G.Kh. Popov, I.V. Bizyukova and K.E. Dzhangirov (1, p 31), who analyze the content of concepts such as cadre policy and cadre promotion and selection, and define the principles of combining stability with the mobility of labor collective management. The idea substantiated in V.I. Pervak's book appears quite productive from the methodological viewpoint: the trend of the social interests and the comprehensive nature of contemporary developments presume two aspects of management decisions: managerial in the strict meaning of the term and steering (5). An interesting consideration concerning the important quality of economic management as practicality is expressed by V.M. Vologzhin (4, p 101).

G.Kh. Popov considers the struggle against bureaucratism a necessary element in perfecting socialist management (4, p 18). He emphasizes that this phenomenon is internally based on the contradiction between the formal and actual possibilities of centralized management. Hence the conclusion that as long as the management apparatus does not become communist self-management, the danger of bureaucratism remains (4, p 23). Let us note that sociologists, economists and legal experts have still not joined efforts in the study of the latter; nor are there comprehensively considered recommendations on the struggle against bureaucratism.

I.V. Bestuzhev-Lada (4, p 26) links the organizational-management aspect of socialist production standards to collectivism. The author includes in the measures to strengthen it the brigade contracting order, strengthening enterprise independence and upgrading the activeness of specialists in solving problems of production management and technological updating.

The application of the brigade organization of labor is permanently in the center of attention of scientists and practical workers. A great deal has already been accomplished in this respect, although further work is needed on problems such as wages and principles governing the distribution of assignments. V.M. Pinzenik (2, p 63) calls for standardized planning of wages under the conditions of a collective organization of labor; N.N. Kruglova (2, p 86) emphasizes worker self-management as an element of plant-wide administration. V.G. Abashkin (2, p 113) notes that wage disproportions appear as a result of violations of the principle of material incentive at enterprises. This problem can be solved only on the national economic level. Unfortunately, this important problem has not been considered by the other authors.

Some articles link labor discipline to cadre turnover and the training and utilization of skilled personnel. In noting the relative nature of stability of a collective, M.M. Dolishniy (3, p 71) points out its ability as being a natural phenomenon for both the national economy and the individual production unit. Repeated studies have been made of this problem, including those of the Lvov sociologists. According to V.V. Sekretaryuk, we must not limit ourselves to local improvements in the situation in training skilled manpower. "What is needed is a radical restructuring of all of its areas, vocational training in

particular..." (4, p 4). An interesting approach to social mobility has been taken by S.I. Vovkanych and L.A. Olesnevich, who suggest the formulation of "models for the advancement of typical worker groups in the collective" (2, p 138).

The authors of most of the books successfully combine theoretical-methodological concepts with empirical data and sum up experience in the area of social management. Nevertheless, these collections are not free from shortcomings. Thus, whereas specialists in scientific research institutes and VUZs sometimes limits themselves to a general formulation of a problem without substantiating theoretical concepts with empirical data, articles by practical workers do not lead to profound conclusions based on extensive specific data. This indicates, among others, errors on the part of publishers who were by no means always able to guide the authors toward solving extensive creative problems and doing serious and substantive work on some topics.

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## SOCIAL MANAGEMENT IN PRODUCTION COLLECTIVES: EXPERIENCE, PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS

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[Review by V.G. Kutushev and G.I. Chernenko of the book "Sotsialnoye Upravleniye v Proizvodstvennykh Kollektivakh: Opyt, Problemy i Perspektivy." A.K. Zaytsev et al editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 223 pp]

[Text] The possibilities of the "human factor" in perfecting socioeconomic development and accelerating scientific and technical progress are truly infinite. In order to identify the possibilities of the "human factor" in their full dimension, we must, above all, radically improve social management. Today this truth no longer needs proving. Furthermore, the number of works on this topic has been increasing steadily. Most authors consider as their main task to keep on philosophizing, again and again, on the nature, need and functions of social management. Yet works in which a theoretical interpretation of the phenomenon would be based on the analysis of actual practical experience and management decisions and their consequences are rare. This, in our view, makes even more noteworthy the publication of this monograph which is an attempt to shift the consideration of the problem from the lofty heights of scholastic theorizing to down to our "sinful earth," i.e., to interpret specific experience and social management practice. This concept is the work's pivotal topic. The authors begin by discussing theoretical approaches to the problem, followed by a description of management systems applied at different enterprises and, finally, earmarking the basic ways of improving social management.

The viewpoint according to which controlling social processes in the labor collective means not only managing a simple individual but an individual who is engaged in implementing specific production assignments, is becoming increasingly accepted. It is in accordance with this approach that the authors undertake their theoretical study with a consideration of the functions of the collective. The social organization of the labor collective is closely linked with the production of material goods. According to the authors, it is precisely this organization that is the "field" in which the processes of shaping the social structure take place, communist education is developed, the phenomenon of production standard appears, and a sociopolitical climate is shaped in which the benefits of improving the working, living and recreational conditions of the workers are manifested or, in a word, where

CPSU social policy is being implemented. It is from all of this that the authors draw the substantiated conclusion that under contemporary conditions the development of the social organization means, above all, the increased autonomy of collectives and of their responsibility in solving the entire array of economic, organization, social and ideological problems. The primary party organizations face new requirements as well. Their role in the management of social processes becomes substantially more difficult, for the further demarcation between the functions of party and economic managers and public organizations presumes the intensified coordination of their activities and the interpenetration of management methods. Particular attention must be paid to the selection and upbringing of cadres competent in solving social problems. The authors are entirely justified in drawing the attention to the need for radically changing the status of individuals who can make such decisions. Managers must not simply be consumers of scientific developments but also interested coparticipants in social projects. This is the only approach which can ensure the efficient and fast application of sociological innovations in social management practices. Incidentally, the book also includes a constructive application method (pp 62-65).

The theoretical part of the work leaves a double impression. Together with the author, we can consider this book a methodical aid (let us note that it is among the first of its kind). For this reason the aspiration not to analyze but to present theoretical problems and to avoid a comparison among viewpoints and the study of the conceptual apparatus appear fully justified. This has left many important problems undiscussed. For example, in chapter 4 "System of Social Management of Labor Collectives," only two elements are considered: the gathering and study of social information and management activities. The system of management organization itself is merely briefly outlined in the concluding part (pp 218-219). Secondly, in the text everything is treated as being of equal singificance, and the relative importance of problems is not indicated.

Actually, we would be sinning against a truth by not pointing out the following: the book's theme is the development of a social technology, i.e., of a set of methods and organizational procedures aimed at optimizing social processes. As we pointed out, in this case the authors rely above all on specific experience. This section is of significant interest and is distinguished by its scientific and practical novelty. The reader will find in the monograph methods for solving problems such as vocational guidance, adaptation and professional advancement of workers (taking the AZLK and the ZIL as examples), the stabilization of the collective as it develops (KamAZ), the selection and placement of managerial and work cadres (First Moscow Time-Pieces Plant, and the Elektroagregat Novosidirska Association), improving the working and living conditions of the workers (the VEF Association in Riga), and the formulation and implementation of target programs for social development (the Krasnyy Proletariy Plant in Moscow and the pipes-manufacturing plant in Chelyabinsk). This section in the work is not only a well-planned and clearly presented manual on how to act under one social situation or another. A detailed description of managerial experience makes us take a new look at the theoretical features of phenomena such as adaptation, work with cadres, vocational guidance, etc.

The sociological service plays an important role in the implementation of social management tasks. This problem is discussed in a separate chapter (pp 150-166), covering a broad range of problems of essential importance to the plant's sociologists: the functions and the organizational principles of the service, the application of sociological developments and difficulties arising in this connection. The suggested model may not entirely satisfy the exigent requirements of theoreticians, for it is clear that not all concepts are applicable in a specific collective. We believe, however, that the value of the model is determined, above all, by the fact that it directs us to the harnessing of all social reserves and integrating the efforts of all subjects of social processes. "Alone, away from the collective," the authors emphasize, "however many specialists there may be and however highly skilled they are, they would be unable to solve all problems.... The sociological service must not simply record actual accomplishments and errors but also actively exert its influence through existing intracollective institutions in intensifying positive trends and suppressing negative ones, for the practical utilization of recommendations is possible only through the joint efforts of sociologists and the collective's management, and with the participation of the collective's members" (p 163).

How can social management be improved further? The authors identify the most sensitive areas. One of them includes the social indicators and standards. Based on many aspects of the social development of the labor collective, their identification is not only difficult but also not always expedient (this applies above all to processes the prospects for which can be presented in only most general features at the present stage). In such situations, the authors note, social guidelines can play an efficient role (p 175). This applies to the most likely and efficient extent of development of one social process or another, based on the best achievements of a given collective or region. We believe that today, when the autonomy of labor collectives is being expanded, this approach becomes quite topical, for it enables us efficiently to combine in the course of enterprise developments their specific objectives and possibilities, on the one hand, and the social and necessary standards, on the other. The application of social standards will also contribute to perfecting management within the "region-enterprise" system. The authors discuss many important aspects of this as yet relatively unstudied problem.

The need to develop problems of social management is so urgent and special publications on this topic are so rare that each such work must meet strict requirements. In all likelihood, the reader will find some shortcomings in the monograph. Let us point out two among the main ones. First, a methodological aid should not include arguable concepts and conclusions. Nevertheless, we read on page 47 that "whatever their reason, conflicts are always subjective. They are not inherent in the socialist nature of the collective. They are not a booster of progress but its hindrance." However, we are told on page 189 that conflicts on specific problems of production life are caused by disparities in the assessment of a given event or action, something which has existed and will always exist. Secondly, it is our profound conviction that books on such topics should be written in such a way as to motivate the reader to undertake the immediate restructuring, the updating of social management. The study of this work, however, particularly



in its first and third sections, does not trigger a feeling of spiritual upsurge. What makes this even more annoying is that this work includes a number of truly new, original and practically significant approaches.

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## STRUCTURE OF HUMAN ACTIVITIES

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[Review by A.G. Dolgikh and N.I. Dryakhlov of the book "Struktury Chelovecheskoy Deyatelnosti," by L. Nikolov. Progress, Moscow, 1984, 175 pp]

[Text] The creative elaboration of an entire range of philosophical problems related to the concept of "activity" is an urgent theoretical and practical necessity today. The book's author is a noted Bulgarian scientist, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the department of sociology at Sofia University and editor and chief of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKI PROBLEMI. In our view, he has chosen as the topic of his study neglected aspects of the "activity" category (general and consolidated structure of human activities, typology of activities, exchange of activities, etc.). The universal structure of activities indicates the attitude toward elements "which are present in any process of activities, regardless of its type, variety or form" (p 35). The overall structure of activities identifies relations between various aspects of the system of human activities.

The author defines perfectly accurately the concept of activity through that of "activeness," singling out three basic elements of activities, i.e., "the subject, which has activeness and which guides it toward a given object or other subjects; the object toward which the activeness of the subject is directed (or, more specifically, the subjects); the activeness itself, expressed in a specific way of mastering the object by the subject or by establishing the subject of communicative interaction with others" (p 48). This type of study of the structure of activities allows the author to undertake and interesting attempt at considering its dynamics. In his view, "In the course of their overall shaping, human activities strongly expand their 'rights' in two directions. First, they connect not only external conditions with internal processes but also establish a connection between such processes and their inner conditions; the subjects of such activities include not only external but also internal objects, such as thoughts, feelings and experiences of the subject. Second, an individual activity links not only processes which do not act as independent activities but also other types of relatively autonomous activities" (pp 51-52).

The general structure of individual activities operates on three levels: the object-product; the objective-means-results; the interest--the purpose of the result. The term "producer," which the author has borrowed from R. Akoff and F. Emeri, indicates the efforts of the person "within the framework of the

process relationship" (p 53). The study of their interaction and hierarchical subordination allows us to identify the mechanism of the internal indirect links among individual activities. It includes two basic aspects. "The meaning or purpose of any structural level is mediated through a higher level and the latter is achieved through the interaction among elements operating on a lower level" (p 59). The mediating method is also the starting point of the typological breakdown of activities. The author singles out three types of a single typological series: the creation of conditions; making conditions available; the self-satisfying manifestation of human forces (pp 77-79). The first and second types are related above all to the product, the result and the target setting. The main feature of the third type is that "the producer, the result and its purpose are expressed in the changes which occur within the producing forces themselves" (p 81).

The concept of "need" is aptly analyzed. In solving the problem of the correlation between activity and need, the author writes that the link between them should be sought "in that part of the process in which need is present in the form of satisfied or satisfiable need and not only where it exists as a need triggered and aimed at future satisfaction" (p 75).

The author also analyzes in detail problems related to the concepts of "interest," social relations and exchange of activities. He proves that the subjects are included in the latter through their interests and functional roles, for which reason its structure includes links "both among the interests of the subjects of this exchange as well as among functional roles."

In our view, the worst shortcoming in the book is that in considering activities, the author virtually ignores contemporary practical problems. It is true that he emphasizes the theoretical nature of his study, which gives him the right "temporary to abstract himself from this and to consider the activities of the individual subject as a manifestation of his own activeness" (p 170). Such abstraction, however, impoverishes rather than enriches the author's study, many of the aspects of which become hard to understand. One can also hardly agree with some definitions such as, in particular, considering identical the concepts of "element" and "subsystem" (pp 48-49). These are not equal concepts even in identifying individual objects. A subsystem is "a system within a system of a higher order" (1). In turn, it includes various elements. In discussing the basic elements of human activities, the author should have used the term "component," for this is a question of more complex phenomena.

The book has other controversial features which, however, do not affect its overall value. The main feature is that the author sums up previous results in the study of human activities and formulates a number of new problems in its study, which cannot be solved without the use of sociological methods.

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## CONSCIOUSNESS AND LABOR ACTIVENESS

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[Review by A.G. Zdravomyslov of the book "Soznaniye i Trudovaya Deyatel'nost'" (Value Aspects of Consciousness and Verbal and Actual Behavior in Labor). Vishcha Shkola, Kiev, 1985, 187 pp]

[Text] Sooner or later a sociologist is asked about the nature of data obtained as the result of mass surveys. To what extent do such data reflect the actual relations which guide human actions and activities? To what extent do the concepts of the research himself, consciously or subconsciously included in the survey program, exert an influence? Filling a form by a respondent is also a kind of step, an action in the course of which complex motivations are identified, by no means always related to the desire to help the researcher to find out the actual situation.

Unfortunately, as sociological studies become more popular, we increasingly realize that all of this is not taken into consideration in programs, method instruments used or reports submitted on the results of a study. Many practical sociologists yield to the temptation to consider the breakdown of respondent answers to one or another question and the actual attitude toward the research topic, ignoring the complex interaction between behavior and consciousness in the specific survey. This problem is the focal point of this monograph written under the direction of I.M. Popova, who has successfully worked in the area of labor sociology for 20 years.

The authors begin their book with a criticism of philosophical-methodological postulates which have become established in bourgeois sociology. Unlike positivists and supporters of the phenomenological trend, the Marxists believe that "the sociologist must be able to go beyond the content of the awareness in order to register and understand the objective logic of actions and sociopractical activities" (p 11). This task is particularly important in solving the problem of distinguishing between consciousness and sociopractical activities, which is the main topic of this study.

We know that the practical orientation of a worker under specific labor conditions, manifested in specific behavioral actions, is frequently inconsistent with the conscious assessment of specific conditions, and that

value-orientations and behavioral motivations do not always consistently express the content of the needs and incentives of labor activity. Thus, satisfaction (dissatisfaction) with labor is frequently not correlated with objective work indicators: a potential cadre turnover, determined on the basis of a survey, does not coincide with actual turnover, etc.

The ability to take this situation into consideration and to interpret it comprehensively is determined not only by the level of professionalism of the sociologist but his philosophical-methodological views as well. In the book under review, they are organically related to the study of specific empirical data. Essentially, the book sums up everything valuable and important learned by Soviet labor sociologists over the past 20 years. In addition to traditional topics, which are considered from a specific point of view (comparative roles of the content of labor and wages, study of labor prestige, factors influencing satisfaction with the work), the book includes new topics discussed on the basis of rich empirical data. This applies, above all, to singling out the value aspect of consciousness and, correspondingly, behavioral motivations. Actually, it is precisely this that constitutes the main theoretical contribution made by the authors to the elaboration of a special sociological theory of attitude toward labor.

The authors single out two lines of motivations which must be taken into consideration in the study of labor sociology problems. (Let us note that, to a certain extent, they are discussed also in previous studies of "motivation groups" (1-3)). The first line is related to "needs-interests." This pertains to the most profound social relations, to what is truly necessary in order to ensure the normal organization of labor and the efficient stimulation of labor activities.

The second line of motivations is related to the value structure of social and individual consciousness. The authors have developed this topic in greater detail. They clarify their positions on problems of values, value aspects of consciousness, value concepts, etc. Thus, according to the authors value means summed up concepts ("value concepts") which act as "social ideals, stereotypes of social and individual consciousness, functioning as ideal criteria in the individual and social assessments and orientations" (p 26). Unlike needs and interests, the value aspects of consciousness include a link between social ideals and the self-awareness of individuals. That is precisely why "realization of needs and interests and the strictly value aspect of consciousness are not one and the same" (p 31).

Value orientations cannot be interpreted broadly, by including needs and interests. It is on this subject that I.M. Popova and her colleagues argue against the authors of another work in which value orientations are considered as "the generalized motivation for action" (4). One of the basic ideas in this book is to develop the concept that "needs-interests" cannot be derived from values. It is erroneous to combine them, for this leads to the elimination of the specific characteristics dividing the two lines of motivations.

Ignoring the specifics of the actions of these motivations, lines could and indeed does lead to a disparity between words and actions. If motives based

on value systems operate in the same manner as motives which are based on differences in status, real needs, requirements and interests, as is frequently the case in practice, in order to perfect incentive it would suffice "properly" to organize ideological education and promote accurate slogans and deliver proper speeches. Furthermore, if value orientations, as "consolidated motives for action" play a dominant role in stimulating actions, here not the real but the declared behavior assumes decisive significance. From this viewpoint, the awareness of the sociologist must be directed toward identifying the verbal forms of behavior and the breakdown of answers based on the "yes" and "no" principle, which occasionally does happens.

Actually, "sociological reality" assumes much more complex forms which reflect interrelationship among needs, interests and values. This precisely is the basic source of separation between consciousness and sociopractical activity. The authors single out four types of situations which express the "disparity between the content of verbally expressed values, objectives, and interests, and actual behavior" (p 53): 1. "Needs-interests" are properly realized. Such realization, however, is not converted into action, into behavior, due to objective and subjective circumstances. 2. Real interests are manifested in actual behavior. The connection itself, however, is insufficiently realized by the subject. 3. The needs and interests are realized by the subject and implemented in his practical behavior. However, they are not expressed verbally by virtue of the fact that "verbalizing...is blocked and subjected to a type of speech taboo" (p 54). 4. The separation between verbal and nonverbal behavior may be determined by the existence of competing conflicting components in the content of verbal behavior and (or) awareness (p 55).

The important conclusion drawn by the authors of the study is the following: "The specific feature of the sociological approach to the study of the 'word-action' problem is precisely the determination of the social factors which define the likelihood and nature of disparity between verbal and nonverbal behavior on the part of a specific social subject under specific historical conditions and situations" (p 54).

This formulation of the problem seems the most accurate, the more so since, as we already pointed out, unfortunately, in research practice, authors frequently limit themselves to noting verbal behavior without interpreting the dynamics of more complex sociopsychological structures. In our view, the reasons for verbal and nonverbal behavior are distinguished, above all, by the fact that value components in the social consciousness develop and influence the individual in a way different from that of practical needs and interests. We assume that the further study of this problem should cover not only a clarification of the differences between "needs-interests" and values but also the adoption of a more specific approach to needs and interests. Both are considered by the sociologists as specific types of social relations. Needs affect more profound social structures. To a greater extent, interests deal with the direct fabric of social life. Clearly revealed in this interaction is the interest or lack of interest, social activeness or social passiveness, aspiration toward accelerated scientific and technical progress or conservatism. The intensified study of real interests is quite topical, for the different interests are frequently manifested in identical forms of verbal behavior and operate within the framework of a unified system of values. From

this viewpoint the differences singled out in the monograph not only between the real and verbal behavior but also between motivations and judgments (p 90), prestige and attractiveness of a profession (p 78), "attribution" and "rationalization" (pp 101-105) etc., are quite important. Said differences are determined by the authors with the help of empirical studies. The explanation of this process in the language of sociological theory is one of the basic if not the main merit of this work.

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## SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 183-185

[Review by I.T. Levykin of the book "Obshchestvennaya Psikhologiya i Ideologiya," by L.K. Uledov. Mysl, Moscow, 1985, 268 pp]

[Text] This monograph is the logical continuation of the author's work on the laws governing the shaping, functioning and development of social consciousness and the place and role of social psychology in ideological activities. L.K. Uledov considers the dialectics of social psychology and ideology and the social regulation of the socialist way of life with the help of public opinion, customs and traditions.

We know that any sociologists who studies social relations and develops a method and methodology of applied research uses information obtained through surveys, observations, study of different documents, etc. A number of methodological problems appear in this connection, the answers to which may be found in L.K. Uledov's new book. The author studies the structure of social consciousness as the dialectical unity between ideological and social mentality. He cautions us against the danger of separating consciousness from activity, which is of essential significance in sociological research, particularly at the stage of the theoretical interpretation of subjective data.

We know that in frequent cases the sociologist must determine the role of the subjective factor in problem situations. In this connection, the author formulates the basic methodological concept that "the subjective factor is not a social activity or a subject of activity but a quality of the subject, manifested in activities which are, above all, ideological and sociopsychological" (p 18). This conclusion is particularly significant in determining the ways of promoting the human factor under the conditions of accelerated socioeconomic development.

To this day ideology and social mentality are frequently pitted one against the other in various publications, the latter being reduced to an ordinary consciousness as an uncontrolled and unsystematized phenomenon. The author justifiably believes that the most essential link between ideology and social mentality lies in their reciprocal influence and interpenetration and in the



fact that they "clash in the course of the shaping and implementation of social functions" (p 39).

L.K. Uledov singles out three basic levels of reciprocal influence between social mentality and ideology. They are correlated as follows: 1. On the level of social consciousness as its most important components; 2. On the level of the spiritual life of society, acting as an interconnection between sociopsychological and ideological relations; 3. On the level of the way of life of the people as its feature (p 41).

The chapters "Correlations Between Social Mentality and Ideology in the Social Consciousness," "Interconnection Between Social Mentality and Ideology in Social Spiritual Life" and others offer a systematic study of categories, ideological and sociopsychological phenomena, conditions, processes, and trends and an interpretation of sociopsychological mechanisms of their interaction. All aspects of the monograph are distinguished by their theoretical novelty. Let us single out mainly the argued analysis of the interconnection between social mentality and ideology in the spiritual life of society and the way of life.

Problems of the correlation between ideology and social mentality are traditionally considered within the confines of the theory of social consciousness. Uledov's monograph is the first successful attempt to identify their correlation in the spiritual area. In considering ideology as a subsystem of the spiritual area of social life, the author points out that it influences the social mentality of social subjects through ideological institutions and through the entire system of ideological relations. In this connection, let us express a few considerations related to the study of the social area, which is singled out in addition to the spiritual, economic and political. At the present time, sociology actively studies the laws governing the development of the social area, determining its basic components and interconnection with the other forms of social life. Clearly, one of the aspects in the study of the social sphere is the interaction between ideology and social mentality in the consciousness of the subjects of social relations.

The author justifiably indicates the dominance of the general psychological approach to the way of life of the individual in the chapter on the sociopsychological and ideological aspects of the way of life. In analyzing the way of life in the attitude toward labor and the sociopolitical climate of the labor collective, he notes the need to combine the ideological with the sociopsychological aspects, which allows us to bring to light the internal mechanisms which motivate and regulate human activities and the conversion of ideas and views into convictions. The author considers entirely accurate to speak of "two sides of the single aspect of the study of the single psychological-ideological way of life" (p 191).

It is difficult to agree with this view for a number of reasons. Above all, the theoretical model of the way of life may be structured on the basis of the prevalence of one or several approaches. The following approaches may be used: economic, sociological, sociopsychological, historical and pedagogical. Furthermore, socioethnographic and sociolinguistic approaches develop as well. The theoretical breakdown of the real way of life may have several

foundations, which would be entirely consistent with the comprehensiveness of this concept.

In determining the basic trends of rapprochement between ideology and social mentality under contemporary conditions, the author draws attention to the need for a harmonious development of all realms of social life. He writes that "The realms of human activities are social subsystems, for the exchange of activities is the specific content of the social interaction" (p 220). However, we must single out above all the basic areas of social life (material-production, economic, political, social, spiritual), considering the other areas (moral, family, national, way of life, etc.) as deriving from them.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program formulates the large-scale tasks of ideological work and the development of the social sciences, including the dialectics of the material and spiritual spheres of socialism and, consequently, the laws and trends governing the development of social consciousness. The identification of the mechanism of interaction between social ideology and social psychology under the conditions of the dynamic development of socialism can be achieved on the basis of the interdisciplinary approach to the study of real social processes and the practical awareness of the masses as constituting a dialectical unity of knowledge, convictions, activities and behavior under specific situations.

L.K. Uledov's book is a major step forward in the elaboration of the theoretical and methodological problems of social consciousness. It will unquestionably trigger a great interest among sociologists.

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## SOCIAL DEVIATIONS. INTRODUCTION TO GENERAL THEORY

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[Review by V.G. Alekseyeva of the book "Sotsialnyye Otkloneniya. Vvedeniye v Obshchuyu Teoriyu." Yuridicheskaya Literatura, Moscow, 1984, 320 pp]

[Text] The study of so-called social deviations, which adversely affect the solution of economic and sociopolitical problems is becoming increasingly important in upgrading the practical efficiency of the social sciences. The draft new edition of the CPSU program notes that the struggle against the manifestations of alien ideology and morality, against all negative phenomena related to vestiges from the past in human consciousness and behavior, and shortcomings in practical work in various areas of social life, is an important structural component of the communist upbringing of the masses, and that the party ascribes prime importance to the consistent and persistent uprooting of violations of labor discipline, theft, bribery, black marketeering, parasitism, drunkenness, hooliganism, private-ownership mentality, money grubbing, toadiness and subservience." The enumeration of these negative phenomena proves that the problem of the struggle against them is complex and comprehensive. Its solution requires a profound study of the reasons of antisocial behavior itself and of the relatively low efficiency of the steps being taken for its prevention and elimination.

In the light of this, the appearance of this new book (edited by Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev) is the timely response of science to practical needs. This is a first analysis, on the level of a monograph, of a topic involving the use of the legal sciences and related disciplines, such as sociology, ethics and psychology. This approach, which is inherent in earlier works also by V.N. Kudryavtsev, substantially enhances the theoretical and practical value of the monograph.

Also quite important is the fact that the problem of social deviations is considered by the authors within the context of the entire way of life of our society, ranging from daily behavior to political relations. On the one hand, this enables us better to understand the nature and social roots of the phenomena under study and, on the other, it upgrades the methodological significance of the book in the case of specialists working in various areas of theory and practice.

The authors note that of late a significant number of publications have appeared dealing with crime, drunkenness and alcoholism. "However, we are still short of consolidating works which would cover all or perhaps even the basic types of behavior which deviates from the standard and consider social deviations in their interrelationship and interdependence" (p 5). The need for such a comprehensive interpretation of the problem of the struggle against the opposites of law and morality is based on the fact itself that such phenomena are interrelated and interdependent, supplementing and stimulating each other.

Since a general theory of social deviations is one of the basic prerequisites for their successful prevention, the effort to lay the foundations for such a theory is extremely valuable. Seeing a phenomenon in its entirety and singling out its individual aspects means not only taking a step forward in its study but also formulating the problems for those who must solve them through the other sciences, in the course of practical activities. In our view, also very important from the methodological aspect is the fact that the authors include as part of negative phenomenon not only violations of social, legal, moral, political and aesthetic standards existing in our society but also "crises and disproportions in the economy and undesirable demographic processes (increased number of divorces, decline in the birthrate, etc.)." The authors have done extensive analytical work to determine not only the similarity but also the differences among concepts such as "social deviations," "social pathology" and others, taking into consideration the circumstance that "the lines dividing such phenomena are in frequent cases quite arbitrary, fluctuating and relative" (pp 9-11). The specification of the object of the study and the terminology related to them allows scientists operating in related sciences to engage in comparative studies, something which today is particularly necessary in implementing the party's task of the comprehensive advancement of socialism.

The foray made by the authors into the history of the study of social deviations, which substantially enriches our understanding of the conclusions drawn by Marx, Engels and V.I. Lenin on this problem, and the nature of deviant behavior itself, is of great interest. Furthermore, this foray is instructive in yet another respect: unfortunately, to this day not all authors remember the fact that they "stand" on the shoulders of their predecessors, for which reason they present as new discoveries old and forgotten accomplishments. Actually, the "grass of forgetfulness" frequently covers the names not only of scientists who lived a long time ago but also authors working on the same problems on an almost parallel basis. As a rule, it is only those who indeed have something new to say that show a long memory. On this level as well the monograph under review could be set as a model.

Using scientific data, the authors analyze in detail the social standards (Chapter 3), based on the fact that in addition to the norms codified in one written source or another, models of behavioral orientation may be found in remembrance only (customs, traditions). Although distinct in terms of form of remembrance and manifestation, any given social standard is "the product of knowledge and of a reworking in the minds of the people of information obtained from the past and the present concerning the most efficient means of behavior and activity which have justified themselves in practical terms and

which offer the shortest way to obtaining useful technical or social results" (p 75). This important methodological concept faces social scientists with a number of new problems which are as yet to be studied, such as the correlation between the cognitive and legal aspects in the development of the mind, the role of information in the "projection" of individual and group behavior, and the nature and specifics of phenomena, such as social control, social expectations, methods of empirical determination of efficiency and effectiveness of standards, and many others. No need to prove that the very formulation of such questions stimulates the process of gaining further knowledge of social deviations.

The authors, who note that "the more homogeneous a class society is the more homogeneous are its social standards and the more similar its social assessments" (p 85), also identify the fact of differentiated standard awareness in contemporary Soviet society, pointing out that it includes "a communist morality and the 'morality' of the violators of Soviet laws; progressive communist traditions and conservative local customs and vestiges of the past in the mind and way of life; finally, organization standards are quite different depending on those who have formulated and those who are applying them" (p 84). Therefore, the differentiation in standards could have different origins. This calls for different assessments and a different practical attitude toward their consequences.

The underdeveloped nature of the problem of social standards in sociology creates difficulties in their practical mastery, particularly by young people, the need for the firm social orientation of which is quite substantial. The fact that such a need is not always satisfied is one of the many reasons for social deviations in youth behavior. This problem is also important in solving problems of management, the significance of which increases immeasurably in connection with production intensification. It is important for the manager to be familiar not only with technical standards but with social norms, for without their help the optimal approach to the person and stimulating the effect of the human factor as a whole are impossible. In this connection, the authors emphasize the role of nonstandard measures of influence "such as the creation of the most favorable living and working conditions for the people, upgrading their well-being, developing their political activeness...ensuring a spiritually saturated leisure time, etc." (p 98). Since social standards are by no means the one and only means of struggle against social deviations, the study of the dialectics of their interaction through other similar means is exceptionally important.

The authors discuss extensively problems of dissemination of social deviations (Chapter 5), their components (Chapter 6), deviant behavioral mechanisms (Chapter 7), reasons for social deviations (Chapter 8) and the struggle against them (Chapter 9). This proves the comprehensiveness, many-sidedness and depth of the study of the problem discussed in the monograph. Let us particularly consider the study of an aspect such as the assessment of social deviations. According to the authors, they depend, first of all, on the assessment of corresponding social standards and, secondly, on the stance of the social community which generates both such assessments (i.e., standards and deviations). "In this case any social deviation must be considered from the following viewpoint: a. The interest of the ruling class; b. The

interest of the social group in which it occurs; c. The specific historical time; d. Long-term social developments. Assessments of the usefulness, harm or neutrality of an action, its permissibility or prohibition, social need or futurelessness, etc., may not coincide in all aspects and may even radically conflict with each other" (p 105).

The importance of this concept in terms of theory and practice is unquestionable. Neglecting contradictions in relations between general and specific features may lead, for example, to the familiar postulate that "the collective is always right." Nevertheless, collectives may be entirely different in terms of the depth of understanding of social standards, level of labor morality and degrees of civic responsibility. That is why not only individuals but social groups must be educated, particularly the so-called informal groups. In the light of this conclusion the study of the correlation between social and group standards is quite relevant.

It is not necessary to study in equal detail problems on which more work has been done (as the authors themselves acknowledge) such as the classification of social deviations, their reasons, consequences, dissemination, dynamics and methods of the struggle against them. It is necessary, nevertheless, to note that the corresponding sections in the book are based on most interesting sociological and sociopsychological data the very study of which will be useful to people dealing with such problems (not to mention the tremendous number of lecturers who work with the population). Noteworthy in this connection is the content of the respective chapters, as well as the rich enumeration of decrees issued by law enforcement bodies and various leading agencies to which the authors refer and which, for a variety of reasons, are disseminated neither among the masses nor among the propagandists. Upgrading the exigency toward education today presumes also upgrading the level of awareness of the population concerning its responsibility for specific actions and, therefore, knowledge of laws and standards deviations which may lead to severe social consequences to the person, his social environment and society at large. Let us also note the fact that said chapters include a great deal of information borrowed from foreign publications, which enables us to understand the class-oriented nature of the problem of social deviations and the struggle against them. Particularly interesting on this level is the comparative analysis on the use of punishment (Section 3, Chapter 9).

Let us note in conclusion that this interesting book is written in a good literary style. Naturally, a single monograph cannot interpret with identical fullness all aspects of the problem. What matters is that researchers who will do further work on the subject have been given something to think about and to rely on.

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## COUNTERMOVEMENT OF THEORY AND IDEOLOGICAL PRACTICE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
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[Review by A.V. Fedotov of the book: "Nasreshtnoto Dvizhenie na Teoriyata i Ideologicheskata Praktika," by V. Momov. Nauka i Izkustvo, Sofia, 1984, 214 pp (in Bulgarian)]

[Text] The new work by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Professor Vasil Momov is noteworthy above all for its practical trend. This noted Bulgarian sociologist has collected extensive empirical data which he has analyzed extensively.

Under the conditions of the drastic aggravation of the struggle between the two opposite socioeconomic systems, the ideological upbringing of the masses assumes prime significance today. The author tries to define the lofty criteria of efficiency of the entire ideological education process. He proceeds from the unquestionable fact that impeccably seeming theoretical concepts may, in clashing with reality, by no means always properly operate. On the other hand, practical experience itself makes major demands on theory. This countermovement between theory and practice creates, according to the author, basic problems in the activities of ideological cadres. In substantiating the object and structure of his monograph, Momov writes that "in the realm of ideological life new trends are manifested in several main directions: the enhanced role of the ideological process as an information and shaping mechanism; ....a combination of the socializing impact of the social environment with the organized and purposeful ideological influence; the enrichment of spiritual values under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution; and the increased significance of social, natural and technical sciences in the mastery of complex ideological processes" (p 9).

The author justifiably emphasizes that today the countermovement between theory and practice in ideological work not only eliminates but also formulates new problems which are quite difficult to solve through traditional means. Such problems, which arise in the course of the ideological education process, are comprehensively analyzed in the three sections of the monograph. The first deals with the need for the fastest possible application of scientific research in practical ideological work, emphasizing the special importance of developing a uniform technology and standardized organizational

tools for achieving a specific scientific-theoretical result. The most interesting aspect of this section is the question formulated by the author of the competence and organizational-managerial standards of ideological cadres, who must be able not only to apply acquired experience but also knowledgeably to engage in social experimentation.

The section deals with the specific mechanisms for optimizing ideological functions of social control and the control functions of the ideological education process. It is a question not only of the activities of institutionalized forms of control but of upgrading the role of the moral factor and public opinion in the labor collective. The study of the correlation between "organization of labor-labor discipline-moral-psychological climate" proves the great significance of ideological convictions.

The end results of ideological activities, i.e., their efficiency, largely depend on the indicators of development of the social activeness of the individual. A number of such indicators exist. If used unsystematically, however, without a regular comparison with previous data of sociological studies, the author emphasizes, one could reach erroneous conclusions and recommendations. Consequently, what is needed is a system of thoroughly planned criteria, formulated quite specifically for the different levels of ideological work. It seems to us, however, that the author's effort to introduce in scientific publications a new term--"ideological effectology"--is not entirely successful. According to him it should enable us more accurately to define the scientifically substantiated approach "to the clarification of the specific nature, factors, criteria and indicators of the efficiency of the ideological process under contemporary conditions and in accordance with party policy requirements" (p 84).

In the last part of his work, Momov describes the nature of ideologizing of social practice and the moral socialization of the individual, i.e., the reciprocal influence between ethics and the practice of ideological activity. Ideologizing and socializing of the individual are analyzed as two interrelated subject areas of the countermovement of theory and practice. The purpose of ideologizing of social practice is shaping the personality qualities which elevate man to the level of the social and economic needs of the country. "Under socialization," the author writes, "the personality is enhanced as a developing active social subject; it not only reproduces but enriches the social experience and values of generations" (p 183). Moral socialization is the highest degree of the socialization of the individual.

The new work by Professor Momov, which is part of the "Theory-Ideological Practice-Individual" series is an interesting scientific summation of the experience of a fraternal party.

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## SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE HIGHER SCHOOL IN DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

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[Review by S.N. Bykova and Ye.D. Igitkhanyan of the book "Sotsialnyye Funktsii Vysshey Shkoly v Razvitom Sotsialisticheskom Obshchestve." VishchaShkola, Kharkov, 1984, 145 pp]

[Text] The tasks set by the party of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country on the basis of scientific and technical progress determine the ways for the reorganization of the system of higher and secondary specialized education. The need for a reform in such education most clearly proceeds from the stipulations of the April 1985 CPSU Central Plenum and the June 1985 CPSU Central Committee Conference on problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress. In the light of these tasks the studies made by sociologists in Kharkov, which is one of the important industrial centers in the country, are of unquestionable interest. What makes this monograph particularly valuable is the fact that the authors compare the obtained data with the results of studies made in other parts of the country (LaSSR, Sverdlovsk, Voronezh and others).

We know that the efficiency of higher education remains low and that the question of the quality of knowledge, skills and abilities of specialists today is extremely relevant. The authors present in detail their suggestions on ways of improving the training of specialists in VUZs. However, they provide no answer to why graduates of higher schools are frequently not used in their specialized field which, incidentally, has an adverse effect on the attitude of students toward training (1-2). Yet, this is one of the important aspects of the problem, the more so since the studies conducted by sociologists in various parts of the country have shown a great orientation of graduates toward scientific research and a poor one toward work in material production (3).

In speaking of the level of upgrading the standard of VUZ teachers, the authors suggest that examinations be given for the title of professor and docent (p 59). They consider formalistic the current procedure for awarding such titles. In our view, such examinations would only complicate matters without eliminating the element of formalism. Furthermore, the need will appear for sufficiently competent examiners and for considering the influence

of accidental circumstances on examination results, etc. It is only actual, daily educational work and the views of colleagues and students that can serve as accurate indicators of the level of skill of teachers and the substantiation for their claim to a scientific degree.

The authors discuss a number of important problems of the organization of the training process in VUZs, according to the full-time, night school and correspondence types of training. Particularly noteworthy is the chapter on the sociopolitical functions of the higher school in a socialist society.

The role of the higher school as a factor in changing the social structure has been actively studied in the past 10 years. The main problem here is the objective contradiction between equal rights and equal opportunities in preparations for enrollment in a higher school. The creation of preparatory VUZ departments in 1969, the purpose of which was to equalize the quality of knowledge of secondary school graduates, which broadened the social base for shaping a Soviet intelligentsia and stimulating the processes of social changes in socialist society, was a step aimed at the solution of this contradiction. However, their activities, particularly in technical institutes, are less effective than one could wish: a 10-month training course is clearly insufficient to fill the gaps in the knowledge of rural youth. The authors note this alarming fact. However, their conclusions are based on a rather narrow empirical foundation: the social composition of first year students enrolled at the Kharkov Polytechnical Institute in 1981, in which students from peasant families accounted for less than 3 percent (p 112). They should have considered the social composition of all secondary school graduates who submitted requests for enrollment and were accepted, as well as the preferences shown by the various youth social groups for other VUZs, and the social base of VUZ recruitment (at least for a given area).

The educational system faces serious problems in equalizing socioterritorial differences. It is a question of increasing the similarity among territorial communities in terms of the level of education, skill and technical facilities for labor, meeting the cultural needs of the workers, etc. It is precisely for this reason that we find an increased amount of migration of rural youth and the unwillingness of some young specialists to return to their native areas. According to the USSR Central Statistical Administration, in 1983 the share of specialists with higher training working in the villages was lower than that in the cities by a factor 1.9, although a fast increase in their absolute number could be noted (4).

In concretizing the situation based on the studies of their area, the authors point out the scarcity of highly skilled cadres in rural schools. Thus, the breakdown of graduates of Ukrainian pedagogical VUZs assigned to rural areas is as follows: 70 percent remain no more than 1 year and only 15 percent remain more than 3 years (p 109). Even graduates of agricultural institutes frequently find work in the cities.

In the light of the "Basic Directions in the Reform of General Educational and Vocational Schools," the authors suggest a number of steps (some of them already being implemented in Kharkov Oblast) aimed at providing real aid to rural general educational schools by VUZs: individual sponsorship,

development of specialized schools in rural areas taught by professors, post-graduate students and students; signing contracts between VUZs and kolkhozes and sovkhozes, etc. Naturally, not all the steps suggested by the authors are promising. However, the formulation itself of such problems is worthy of approval.

The higher school plays a great role in the rapprochement among and development of Soviet nations. Unfortunately, the monograph does not include a meaningful study of this problem: Chapter 3 is primarily descriptive and the data cited deal with no more than a few quantitative indicators of the educational situation in union republics. All that is discussed is the increased standardization of education; the national aspects of the problem, the consideration of which requires different approaches and conclusions, have been ignored.

Obviously, the sociostatistical aspect of the problem could have been emphasized.

Despite such shortcomings, the Kharkov monograph is a thorough study which makes a substantial contribution to the study of problems of higher education.

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## YOUTH AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
(signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 190-192

[Review by V.T. Lisovskiy of the book "Molodezh i Vyssheye Obrazovaniye v Sotsialisticheskikh Stranakh." F.R. Filippov and P.E. Mitev responsible editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 143 pp]

[Text] Perfecting the system of higher and secondary specialized education is one of the topical tasks of Soviet society at its present stage of development and a structural component of the acceleration of scientific and technical and social progress. In this connection, the comparative analysis of the results of sociological studies of university students, conducted in the fraternal socialist countries, which enables us to assess the nature and significance of their experience, assumes particular importance.

A unique-study based on a uniform program was undertaken in a number of members of the socialist community by the end of the 1970s and essentially completed by 1982. Its preliminary results were published at that time, on the eve of the 10th World Sociological Congress, which was held in Mexico. They were reported to the congress and triggered a great deal of interest on the part of the international scientific public (1-4). The monograph under review is a new stage in summing up the results of the study, which made it possible to consider them from the viewpoint of contemporary processes occurring in countries cooperating in this project and in accordance with the development of Marxist sociological science.

The monograph provides a profound study of the correlation between changes in the social structure of socialist society and perfecting the system of education in socialist countries. The authors proceed from the priority given to sociostructural changes and the real possibilities of the educational system to influence them in accordance with the principles and factual trend of the social policy of communist and worker parties and state authorities. The work cites numerous convincing data of social statistics confirming the profound quality changes in the social structure of secondary and higher school students and in the aspect of the socialist people's intelligentsia. The group of authors (including P. Mitev and K. Gospodinov, Bulgaria; Z. Salamon, Hungary; K. Starke, GDR; Z. Golenkova, M. Titma and F. Filippov, USSR; and A. Matejovskiy and D. Holda, Czechoslovakia) concentrated on higher school problems related to training new intelligentsia generations and the social development of this social group.

Speaking of the most essential successes achieved by the participants in the project, they involve above all a determination of the high level of commonality of the processes under study. This includes the broadened social

sources of reinforcement of the social intelligentsia, particularly from the ranks of the working class, and the high social activeness of student youth, the significant similarity of structures in value orientations, the typical nature of social characteristics of parents and children, etc. The last feature, incidentally, led to the curious conclusion of the existence within society of a specific typological group of population related to activities of the higher educational system not through direct labor or training but the fact of having children as members of the student body (see Chapters 3 and 4). Noting the commonality of the studied processes is important also in the development of the theory of the socialist society and the struggle against concepts of exaggerated one-sided absolutizing of national specifics; at the same time, the sociological information obtained enables us to characterize the actual degree of national specificity within the higher education systems and to avoid simplistic concepts of their commonality. The overall commonality, as the authors emphasize, "was not...something unexpected, for it is a question of countries sharing common foundations of social relations, a common ideology and morality, and aspiring to common social objectives" (p 119). At the same time, we can agree with the caution shown by the authors in their conclusions, as they constantly remind us of the need to pursue such studies on a systematic basis.

The monograph clearly proves that the impact of higher education on the processes of the gradual elimination of social disparities has an internal contradiction: the homogenizing of the student body and the shaping among the offspring of different social groups of the population common features of the intelligentsia are combined with the preservation and even certain intensification of the influence of sociocultural differences (similar data were obtained from a number of Soviet studies, in particular those conducted by the Leningrad State University NIIKSI). A rather significant "scattering" of social characteristics of the student body was detected in a comparison among identical professional detachments in these countries: engineering-technical, agricultural, economic and medical students, i.e., the most widespread groups covering most VUZ youth (in addition, studies were made in the USSR of students in the liberal and natural-science departments of universities). Differences among professional detachments, particularly in terms of systems of value orientation (which is particularly well described in Chapter 6 in particular), as a whole turn out to be comparable with differences based on the social origin of the students. The first time this phenomenon was detected was by Soviet researchers as early as the 1970s (see 5). Today it has obtained another confirmation, which is quite valuable above all in the case of Soviet sociology, of which this study was a duplication, for the first, as we pointed out, was conducted in the mid 1970s in six areas of the Soviet Union; the second was conducted in 13 VUZ centers in the European part of the RSFSR and in the three Soviet Baltic republics. It is also important that once again the Soviet part of the study revealed a number of regional characteristics of the student body (covered even more completely in the publications of the Baltic sociologists (6, 7)).

Another merit of this monograph is worth mentioning: the method of its presentation. The authors have made extensive use of the factorial analysis and other means of mathematical primary data processing. The results of an international investigation have been added as an appendix. Unfortunately,

very little has been said of the methods used in making national selections and those used in processing the resulting data (as the book indicates, data were processed individually by each country).

The chapter on the social activeness of the students is written in the nature of a thesis. Such activeness is interpreted by the authors in broad terms (as "overall activities of the individual"). A comparison between the investigation and the text in the book indicates that by no means have all possible parameters been given a detailed and extensive interpretation. Let us note annoying misprints and some other printing shortcomings.

We believe that the importance of this work, however, goes way beyond its specific content. It is a question not only of the new trends in the area of higher education in the socialist countries but also of the extensive possibilities of making a comparative sociological study, its clear accomplishments and no less clear difficulties and unsolved theoretical and organizational problems. As a whole, the monograph is a major contribution to international cooperation among sociologists, above all among researchers dealing with problems of youth and education. The creative cooperation among scientists in socialist countries within the Problem Commission for Multilateral Cooperation on "Processes of Social Development in Socialist Society," as the book indicates, yields significant results and opens extensive opportunities.

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## INTERVIEW METHOD AND ACCURACY OF SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION

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[Review by I.A. Butenko of the book "Metod Intervyu i Dostovernost Sotsiologicheskoy Informatsii," by G.A. Pogosyan. Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Publishing House, Yerevan, 1985, 142 pp]

[Text] A great variety of current sociological publications is available, as a glance at the "Sociologist's Bookshelf," regularly published in this journal, would indicate. However, so far works especially dedicated to the gathering of sociological information remain very infrequent. Usually, researchers are much more interested not in the process of data gathering but in their results. Yet, without explaining the manner and circumstances in which the results have been obtained and, consequently, the extent of their reliability and substantiation, it becomes inexpedient to study in detail coding methods or mathematical procedures. The absence of scientifically substantiated concepts of survey methods frequently leads to situations in which the problem of distorted primary information is either ignored totally or solved on the basis of the researcher's intuition and common sense. All of this lowers the value of the sociologist's conclusions and the practical significance of his recommendations.

The unquestionable merit of G.A. Pogosyan's work is the fact that the author has not reduced the gathering of data through surveys to a simple exchange of "Question-Answer" replicas, for the interviewer and the respondent are not automatons which mechanically transmit and receive information but living people between which relations develop. What is the nature of such contacts under the conditions of a survey? What reciprocal influence have their participants on one another and on the quality of resulting data? Can the researcher protect the results of the survey from such influences?

The author not only poses such questions but also provides their answers. The profound study of the phenomenon of "research intercourse," the efficient structure of the book and the strict and clear style of presentation and extensive use of empirical data make Pogosyan's monograph one of the most noticeable books on the method of sociological research.

We believe that the readers will be particularly drawn to the theoretical-methodological interpretation of subject-object relations related to the reciprocal influence between the participants in the interview. The author ascribes prime importance to the specific nature of the human exchange of information, which is not only transmitted and received in the course of the survey but is also shaped (originated, refined, changed). We must also agree with him that the simplistic understanding of an interview, according to which the statements of the respondent are considered reflections of his convictions causes substantial harm to the project as a whole. In frequent cases, the author notes, people are asked questions which they are unable to answer for a variety of reasons--objective, subjective or both. Occasionally, the respondents give answers dictated by considerations of prestige, politeness or other factors unrelated to the problem under discussion. In this case their answers do not reflect their views or convictions, although, the author emphasizes, they are frequently accepted as such. The lack of special methods which enable us to determine the situations encountered by the interviewer--opinions, beliefs or random reactions--prevents us from assessing the quality of data. This makes accounts for the great importance of the successful effort made by the author to prove the way in an interview situation determinants of the veracity of data, such as the sincerity of the respondent, his interest in the survey, readiness to answer to the point and confidence of his own opinions, may change.

Noteworthy is the method suggested by the author for distinguishing between meaningful answers and instant reactions by defining the adequacy of the answer and the extent of its originality. In assessing sincerity, consideration and depth of answers, it is expedient, according to Pogosyan, to make extensive use of the interviewers as sources of expert information on the reliability of resulting data. This approach, which would not excessively complicate the interviewers' tasks, would make it possible substantially to enrich our concepts on the collected information and the suitability of the selected method.

Another unquestionable merit of the book should be noted: its theoretical sections, which deal with a subject-object relations problem in an applied research, are based on the latest achievements of domestic social and general psychology and have been profoundly interpreted by the author in terms of interview situations and the roles played by the participants.

Nevertheless, Pogosyan has been unable to avoid some errors. Thus, purely descriptive aspects predominate in the study of intercourse. In considering the structure of such intercourse and enumerating its models, the author does not indicate his own views on the matter. In our opinion, foreign publications have not been sufficiently used. Books by American sociologists are not always critically assessed and some of their methodical errors have remained unnoticed.

Such shortcomings do not lower in the least the quality of this work. It would be difficult to overestimate its importance to organizers of sociological studies and people directly involved in research projects. Pogosyan's book can be fully recommended as a training aid to students in sociological departments and to anyone engaged in the study of the method and



techniques of such studies. Furthermore, anyone dealing with problems of relations among people would find it interesting.

Let us note in conclusion that the steady readers of this journal are probably familiar with Pogosyan's scientific works. Many concepts presented in the book under review were initially published in this journal.

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MARXIST PHILOSOPHY IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKER MOVEMENT AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

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[Review by Z.T. Golenkova and V.S. Kruzhev of the book "Marksistskaya Filosofiya v Mezhdunarodnom Rabochem Dvizhenii v Kontse XIX-Nachale XX Vv." B.V. Bogdanov and I.S. Narskiy editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 447 pp]

[Text] Recreating the integral picture of the development of Marxist social philosophy from its origins to the present is no easy task. A convincing proof that it can be successfully solved is the monograph written by a group of authors from a number of scientific institutions in our country and Czechoslovakia. The work is focused on the philosophical and sociopolitical concepts of A. Babel, P. Lafargue, G.V. Plekhanov, K. Liebknecht, R. Luxemburg, F. Mehring, D. Blagoev and other students and fellow workers of K. Marx and F. Engels. As the logical continuation of the two-volume work "Marksistskaya Filosofiya v XIX V." [Marxist Philosophy in the 19th Century] (1979), which dealt with the works of the founders of Marxism, the book under review is also a link to the interpretation of V.I. Lenin's philosophical legacy.

The relevance of the monograph--from the scientific and ideological-political viewpoint--is determined above all by the fact that the historical period in the history of socialist and philosophical thinking it considers, has still not been covered with sufficient thoroughness and objectivity. The authors have attempted (quite successfully) to prove the groundlessness and erroneousness not only of the one-sided interpretation of the activities of the Second International, in the course of which attention has been paid primarily to the errors of its theoreticians (an approach which marked works on this topic written in the 1930s), but also the excessive extolling of this stage, described today by our ideological opponents as the "golden age of Marxism."

The "portrait" method used in the presentation of the material, selected by the authors, could have degenerated into descriptiveness. This, however, has been avoided. The historical role of the representatives of the Second International is rated in the book on the basis of their involvement in solving the most important problems which reality posed to Marxist philosophy.

The axis of the ideological and theoretical struggle at that time rotated around problems of the philosophical substantiation of socialist changes, the dialectics of social processes, the place of the subjective factor in social development and the nature of economic determinism. The critical study of the views of the theoreticians who assumed the wrong position hindered the development of Marxist philosophy (E. Bernstein, the Austrian Marxists, and others). This gives us a better idea of the situation prevailing at that time. The detailed interpretation of the ideological legacy of the opportunistically oriented leaders of the social democratic movement and of scientists who played with pseudo-Marxist terminology makes the book under review quite topical, for to this day we come across efforts to reanimate the concepts of the "golden age" opportunists. The fact that the authors avoid simple assessments and instead thoroughly analyze the way the same ideas may have played a different role at one time or another and the changes in the views of the theoreticians of the Second International is an unquestionable merit of the work. All activities of this organization are related in the book to a specific historical context. The authors prove particularly convincingly the way in which the weakness of the conceptual apparatus, neglect of the principle of party-mindedness and retreat from class positions were the reasons for which the overwhelming majority of the leaders of the Second International failed to consider the qualitative changes which brought about the establishment of the domination of financial capital and were unable to see the mortal danger of imperialism to human civilization.

The split within the labor movement into a left and right wing was the result of the new historical circumstances. The superprofits earned by monopoly capital were the economic base for the policy of class cooperation. Bernstein and, subsequently, the Kautskianists laid a theoretical foundation under this "reform philosophy," the ideology of brokerage. Efforts were made to talk workers into compromises in exchange for promises for a slow yet steady improvements in living standards and democratization of the political system; the loyalty of the working class was pledged to the bourgeoisie. Although statements about socialism were preserved, the practical activities of the Second International totally clashed with them. The study undertaken in the monograph of the views of the Kautskianists clearly proves the high price which the socialist movement had to pay for its theoretical errors. The exposure of the true meaning of the ideological and theoretical struggle waged at that time is particularly relevant in connection with the fact that, as we pointed out, Western literature continues to use many of the ideas which developed during the period of the Second International: the fetishizing of bourgeois democracy, the hopes of the possibility of peaceful reformation of capitalism, rejection of the leading role of the proletarian party and the need to eliminate the bourgeois governmental machinery, and neglect of dialectical materialism in philosophy.

The convincing lessons of history offer not even the slightest grounds for the praise by bourgeois Marxology of opportunistic traditions. Under the pressure of nationalism, the Second International, which was established for the sake of strengthening proletarian class solidarity and which accomplished a great deal in this area, nevertheless split. Dogmas were destroyed one after another and formulated ideas collapsed. Hopes for the victory of socialism in the developed European countries at the time, unsupported by proper

revolutionary practices, proved to be nothing but pseudorevolutionary phraseology. The democratization of capitalism, on which the theoreticians of the Second International relied, not only failed to take place but, conversely, following the advent of fascism to power, a period of fierce reaction appeared in a number of countries. Contradictions did not abate in the course of time nor did economic crises disappear. Therefore, all strategic forecasts of the theoreticians of the Second International failed the test of history.

An unquestionable merit of this work is the effort to identify the valuable aspects of the theoretical and practical activities of the leaders of the Second International and, at the same time, to note unsolved problems and indicate areas where major errors were made. The profound and thorough study undertaken by the authors enables us to see more completely the qualitative novelty of the Leninist stage in Marxism.

A separate chapter discusses the work by G. Lukacs "Istoriya i Klassovoye Soznaniye" [History and Class Consciousness] which was praised as a work of truly creative Marxism which dealt a tangible blow at the theoretical errors of the leaders of the Second International. The supporters of this myth were guided by attendant political considerations.

The chapters in which problems of historical materialism and sociology are discussed and bourgeois sociological concepts are criticized are quite interesting. In our view, however, the book would have significantly benefited had the sociological topic been the subject of greater attention, for it was during the period under discussion that the establishment of Marxist-Leninist science took place and an uncompromising struggle was waged against bourgeois trends. Furthermore, we believe that the authors have ignored a number of individuals who were directly involved with the Second International, such as Marxist-oriented theoreticians (Markhlevskiy, for instance) and the Russian mensheviks, Massarik and Sorel.

Overall, we can confidently say that in terms of the scale of this work, the level of theoretical summation of the material and its ideological trend, the monograph under review opens a new page in the study of Marxist social philosophy.

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## CONTEMPORARY TECHNOCRATIC IDEOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES

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[Review by Ya. Davidovich of the book "Sovremennaya Tekhnokraticheskiya Ideologiya v SShA," by E.V. Demenchonok. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 240 pp]

[Text] Technocratic ideology experienced a noticeable revival in the United States and other Western countries in the 1980s. An increased number of works were published in which references by bourgeois authors to the achievements of science and progressive technology (particularly those related to electronics, microprocessors and the development of an information infrastructure) were used as a starting point for predictions of a future economic upsurge and social stability. What is noteworthy is that today not only "neoliberals" but also "neoconservatives" express themselves in a spirit of technocratic "progressivism."

The critical interpretation of the latest forms and tendencies of technocracy is a difficult task. The reason is the complexity and many-facetedness of this ideological phenomenon, its flexibility and its ability to adapt itself to changing social and spiritual situations.

The monograph by E.V. Demenchonok is interesting above all as a systematized study of the origins and latest forms of American technocracy and the theoretical contents of its sociological concepts.

As a representative of the positivistic line of bourgeois social philosophy, technocracy became the dominating form of the ideological mastery of the social results of the scientific and technical revolution. It is precisely within that technocracy that the most decisive attempt was made to formulate a general sociological doctrine which lays the claim of becoming an alternative to the Marxist theory of social development. The author indicates the futility of the efforts of bourgeois theoreticians to "outstrip" Marxism. In summing up the results of the criticism already provided in our publications of this trend, the author draws the attention precisely on the efforts of the bourgeois scientist to develop a general sociological theory. It is from this viewpoint that the concepts of the leading representatives of American technocracy are considered--those of T. Veblen, W. Rostow, J. Galbraith, D. Bell, A. Etzioni, Z. Brzezinski, and H. Kahn, who tried to structure a social

theory on the shaky foundation of "technological determinism." The most outstanding manifestation of this theory was the "postindustrial" concept formulated by D. Bell, which, to this day, is the common sociophilosophical canvas on the basis on which the bourgeois authors consider the transformation of capitalism into some kind of "new society." The book provides an extended (and most complete among our publications) study of Bell's theory. The author brings to light its internal contradictions triggered by the logic of technodeterminism, and subsequent attempts by the American sociologists to avoid them by modifying his theory, which results in eclecticism and a methodological relativism. Typically, in his latest works, Bell speaks of the impossibility of formulating an integral theory of society and essentially returns to the previous bourgeois sociological theories of the "average level," limiting himself to a description of individual areas and subsystems in the social organism.

Arguments on the development of the social structure of contemporary capitalism and of the "agent of social change" have intensified in recent years in American sociological literature. We find here a clash of views between the supporters of traditional structural-functional analysis and supporters of the young "radical" sociology. Sharp debates are taking place on the social role of professional groups of intellectual workers. A separate chapter in the monograph discusses problems of the intelligentsia in connection with its treatment in technocratic theories.

The technocratic concept was born as a sociological idea which asserted the need for giving power to scientists and technical specialists in the interests of society at large. Initially, it was a specific form of self-awareness of the growing stratum of scientific and technical workers exploited by capital. This circumstance, which is quite essential in understanding the popularity of technocratic ideas among some members of the intelligentsia, was studied by the author on the basis of the works of T. Veblen and the "radical" technocratic movement of the turn of the century. It is related to sociocritical concepts of the initial supporters of "meritocracy" and, subsequently, the liberal-reformist ideas of "technostructural" power.

Why is it that technocracy, which initially began by criticizing business and demanding a "radical change," subsequently turned into a variety of bourgeois-apologetic ideology? In answering this question, the author traces the development of technocratic ideology in its interrelationship with the social dynamics of the scientific and technical stratum. A change of paradigms takes place in the realm of ideology in the course of the breakdown of the latter into a privileged upper stratum and rank-and-file "professionals: it converts into an expression of the self-seeking aspirations of the technobureaucratic elite. The old demands of transferring power from business to "engineers" are replaced by a more moderate and pragmatic objective of consolidating one's position as part of the ruling elite and broadening one's rights and privileges within the framework of modernized capitalism.

As the author points out, the social disparity between the elite and the bulk of scientific and technical specialists is concealed by a certain commonality of their professional obligations and the nature of their participation in the monopoly organization. Both "technobureaucrats" and rank-and-file

"professionals" are functionally equated as servants of the capitalist corporation. Subjectively, the rank-and-file specialist can identify himself with the technobureaucratic leadership and consider his status as "upward movement" and as a success or failure of a technocratic career. Correspondingly, he can also share the social expectations of the technobureaucrats of whom he is objectively not part.

The concept of the "managerial revolution" became the most important element in the theory and social structure of the society, according to which conflict between labor and capital disappears and the theory of classes is replaced by a manifested hierarchy of professional groups. This theory has been extensively studied in Soviet sociological literature. The theoretical and social content of this concept has been critically considered with the extensive use of data of sociological studies conducted in the United States, the results of which have confirmed the Marxist assessments (1).

In this book technocratic doctrines are considered not only on the level of their common bourgeois-apologetic trend but also their aspiration as an "ideology" of the stratum of the scientific and technical intelligentsia. In debunking the image of the single technocratic orientation of the "new class," which is unified in terms of its technocratic orientation, the author proves the profound disparity between their claim of being the ideological manifestations of the interests of the intelligentsia, on the one hand, and the true interests of the bulk of hired intellectual workers, on the other. This stratum can successfully defend its rights, above all the right to work and participation in social management, only through the joint struggle with the working people, headed by the working class.

A noteworthy feature of this work is the study of the development of the concept of the "new class" and its interpretation in Bell's latest works. Today the American sociologist is proclaiming the unacceptability of the very concept of "class" as applicable to contemporary capitalist society. He tries to prove that class disparities within it have entirely disappeared, yielding to professional-functional disparities. He replaces the social criterion with a "factorial pluralism." As a result, the approach to the study of the social structure of American society is reduced to a division between the right wing and the left wing "along the economic axis," and between liberals and conservatives in culture, or else to a classification based on professional functions, interests, status, employment, etc. The work substantiates the unscientific nature of Bell's sociology, proving its helplessness compared to socioclass principles of social analysis.

The conservative-protective trend of contemporary technocratism was clearly manifested in the period of decline of the protest movement and the advent of the "neoconservative wave." The neoconservative technocrats single out among the intelligentsia an elite sector (in which they include themselves) as the "healthy nucleus," and engage in a moralizing criticism of the leftist democratic intelligentsia as being contaminated by lack of faith in bourgeois values. This criticism is conducted under the banner of "moral improvement" and the unification of a society in crisis. In exposing its underlining, the author indicates that the neoconservatists lay a claim to ideological

leadership among the intelligentsia and, essentially, act as the "fifth column" in business.

Unfortunately, the author fails to discuss theoreticians such as J. Bernham, A. Burley, and H. Mince. He does not explain the concepts of "microelectronic" and "telematic" revolution and the "information society," or the actual social processes related to the shaping and growth of the information sector in the economy ("computer Taylorism" in particular). The book would have significantly benefited had the analysis of the concept of technocracy included existing bourgeois theories of the elite and democracy.

As a whole, the author has successfully coped with his project. The study of technocratic ideology in its dynamics gives internal cohesion and depth to the work. The panoramic view of one of the most influential ideological trends in the United States, depicted in the book, is a noticeable step forward in the critical interpretation of spiritual life in contemporary American society.

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#### SOCIOLOGIST'S BOOKSHELF

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## SOCIAL SCIENCES AND CONTEMPORANEITY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 86  
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[Text] The USSR Academy of Sciences publishes dozens of specialized journals on social science problems, each one of them dealing with a strictly defined range of problems: philosophy, economics of industrial production, psychology, recent and most recent history, Slavic studies, ethnography, Balkan studies, linguistics, law studies, etc. SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA is one such specialized journal. At the same time, the academic periodicals in the humanities include publications which play a special role. Their purpose is to cover the achievements of all social science disciplines. This applies to the Russian-language journal OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI and some others like it (but not its analogs!) in foreign languages. They are published by the Social Sciences and Contemporaneity joint editorial board, headed by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member I.R. Grigulevich, the noted Soviet social scientist. In addition to the journals the editors publish topic collections as well.

Following is more detailed information on the publications of the Social Sciences and Contemporaneity editorial board:

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